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The Mythic Society

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31223

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E MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Accounts of the Dady Memorial Hall up to 1st July 1919.

RECEIPTS.		AMOUNT.		EXPENDITURE.		AMOUNT.	
			Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.	
From Mysore Government	...	...	11,613 11 0	To Mysore D. P. W.	...	19,967 5 0	
Subscriptions and donations	...	...	11,828 11 0	Appeal for subscriptions. Ceremonies of laying Foundation Stone and Opening the Hall ...	...	875 1 9	
Miscellaneous	...	...	90 15 0	Water supply and Electric Installation	...	836 15 6	
Monthly grant	...	...	1,693 1 11	Furniture	...	2,036 6 8	
				Garden	...	595 7 10	
				Elephants, Bulls & stone benches	...	176 2 0	
				Establishment and lighting charges	...	691 3 9	
				Total	...	25,178 10 6	
				Balance with the President	...	47 12 5	
Total	...	25,226 6 11		Total	...	25,226 6 11	

A. M. TARABD.
President.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE

Statement of accounts from July 1, 1918 to June 30, 1919.

RECEIPTS.		AMOUNT.	EXPENDITURE.		AMOUNT.
		Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.
By Interest on Deposits	...	170 10 0	To printing journals 4 issues	...	907 7 9
Members' subscription :—	{ Resident	968 6 0	Cost of paper for printing	...	674 14 0
	{ Mofussil	583 6 0	Other printing	...	260 3 6
Life membership	...	100 0 0	Postage	...	150 13 9
Sale of Journals	...	257 10 0	Establishment	...	122 0 0
Library donation	...	455 0 0	Contingencies (Railway charges, cooly etc.)	...	100 2 3
Miscellaneous	...	0 7 6	Library expenditure :—	...	316 8 0
			{ Book binding	...	83 15 0
			{ Purchase of books	...	
Total	...	2,535 7 6	Closing balance	...	2,616 0 3
Opening balance as per last year's printed st. (Vide 1919 January issue)	...		Bank Fixed Deposit	...	3,000 0 6
	...		Current account	...	577 5 0
	...		With Curator and Branch Secretaries	...	85 0 11
Grand Total	...	6,278 6 2	Grand Total	...	6,278 6 2

(Sd.) S. SHAMANNA,
Hon: Treasurer.

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. X]

OCTOBER, 1919

[No. I.

THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, July 30, 1919.

SIR LESLIE MILLER, KT., C.B.E.,

in the Chair.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., General Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT.

This is our tenth anniversary and if we look back on the ten years the Mythic Society has been in existence we cannot help feeling proud of its achievements. During those ten years it has secured a membership of over 400, an endowment of Rs. 3,000, an annual income of about Rs. 2,500, a library containing over 1,000 volumes and a habitation which every one admits is one of the beauties in this beautiful city.

The year which has just closed has been one of steady progress despite several adverse circumstances, many of them connected with the world-wide war which has only just ended.

MEMBERSHIP.—We opened the Session with 424 members and subscribers, we closed it with 426. This may at first sight appear to be a very small increase, but when we remember that death has removed twelve of our members and that thirty-five names have had to be struck off the list owing either to persistent default in paying the subscription or in a total lack of interest in the subjects which form the scope of the Society, we feel that our present membership comprising only members in complete sympathy with our aims is the most satisfactory we have had since the foundation of the Society; 187 resident and 219 moffusil members with twenty subscribers—all animated with the same spirit—is a record any Society working on similar lines with ours can very well be proud.

Yet your committee feel that there are still many both in and outside Mysore whose interest in India and things Indian would induce them to add their names to our list if only they became aware of our objects and they therefore make a fresh appeal to all members resident or moffusil to make the Society more widely known and to bring us if possible at least one new member each during the ensuing session.

FINANCES.—The statement of account presented by the Honorary Treasurer shows that the finances of the Society are fairly satisfactory. We started the session as follows:—

Funded Capital	...	...	...	Rs. 3,000
Opening Balance	...	...	...	" 742
Receipts	...	...	...	" 2,578
Making a total of	...	...	...	" 6,320
Our expenditure has been	...	...	...	" 2,738
Leaving us on the 1st July 1919 with a funded Capital				
of Rs. 3,000, and a working balance of				... " 582

The slight excess of expenditure over receipts was due to the increased cost of paper and printing, a factor which we hope will soon disappear, now that the world is again at peace.

We have continued during the session the special measure adopted during the previous year with regard to the collection of subscription and as a result the amount of our outstandings has still further decreased. While thanking our members for their co-operation in this respect, your committee express the wish that as far as possible, subscriptions should be remitted on receipt of the first number of a new volume. This procedure will not only avoid annoyance to themselves but will enable the committee to meet their bills as they fall due.

MEETINGS:—There were in accordance with the rules of the society nine ordinary meetings in the year and nine papers were read, four of which

were illustrated with lantern slides. Our heartiest thanks are tendered to the gentlemen who have been so kind as to respond to our invitation to lecture before the Society.

A unique feature of the year was a special lecture on 'Folk Religions in India' delivered in March last by the great Indian poet Dr. Rabindranath Tagore with His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore G.C.I.E., in the Chair. The committee are happy to avail themselves of this opportunity of tendering the grateful thanks of the Society to His Highness the Yuvaraja for this new proof of his sympathetic interest in the work of the Society and to the famous poet for the honour done to us.

We desire also to thank Sir Narayan Chandavarkar for having kindly taken the Chair at the April meeting when Mr. Gowd read his paper on "Exact Sciences in the VEDAS."

JOURNAL.—Thanks to the increasing interest taken by scholars in our work, we have been able not only to maintain but, we firmly believe, to increase the high standard of our Quarterly. The larger number of contributions we are receiving permit our Editor to exercise his discretion and resort to a process of selection rather more frequently than heretofore. The committee trust that his efforts in this direction will meet with generous approval of the contributors concerned.

We have been promised a number of papers and contributions for the ensuing session, and we have already received some of them. We feel confident that the Journal will continue to meet in the future with the same warm approval as in the past from learned Indologists. The Journal is the mainstay of a Society like ours and it is by it that our work must be judged. No efforts will be spared therefore to keep our Journal in the foremost rank among similar publications in India.

LIBRARY.—Our Library has received considerable additions during the year. Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L., has, as already announced in the December number of our Journal, generously presented the Society with the library consisting of 265 volumes of his late revered father Rao Bahadur Mr. Purna Krishna Rao. Sir Hugh Daly to whose support and sympathy we already owe so much has added to our obligation to him by presenting us with a further set of 125 volumes through his daughter Mrs. Paget Tomlinson. On behalf of the Society we beg to offer our hearty thanks to these gentlemen and to Mrs. Paget Tomlinson for their munificent gifts, as also to the several Governments and to the members of the Society whose gifts to the library have already been acknowledged in our Journal. Our Library is still in an embryonic stage and far from being adequate for research work and we confidently rely upon the generosity of our members

to complete its equipment. We are not without hopes also that the Mysore Government will during the ensuing session consider favourably our request to transfer to our library all the books on Mysore, Indian History, and Archæology etc., which are in their office libraries. They are at present inaccessible to the public while, if we were entrusted with them, we should only be too happy to throw our library open to all those whether members or not who might wish to make use of them.

OUR HALL.—With the kind help of the Mysore Government, we have been able to get up a garden which elicits the admiration of all the visitors and passers-by and to maintain the Hall in proper order.

The accounts of the Hall, of the garden and of the general up-keep of both up to date, are submitted with this report under the signature of the President.

The Hall has been as usual made available for conferences and meetings connected with Mysore Government Departments and officers. We have also allowed the use of it to the Mysore Agri-Horticultural Society for their meetings.

Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Yuvaraja of Mysore, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja of Travancore have graciously presented their portraits which now adorn the Hall. From the Jaghirdar of Yelandur we have received a contemporary portrait of his ancestor the renowned Dewan Purnaya. To Their Highnesses and to the Jaghirdar we tender our heartiest thanks for their deeply appreciated gifts. The latest ornament gifted to us is the fine stone-bull in the verandah, presented by Lady Miller for which we thank her most cordially.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.—We were especially fortunate during the session in welcoming several distinguished visitors to our Hall. Both our Vice-Patrons His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., and His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, G.C.I.E., paid us a visit last July. A short address was presented to the Maharaja Gaekwar by the President, and an interesting Tableau was also arranged with which Their Highnesses expressed themselves extremely pleased. We have already referred to the visits of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Sir N. Chandavarkar. Another eminent Indian, a distinguished judge and a renowned educationist, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee paid us the same honour.

CONCLUSION.—In concluding this account of their stewardship the Committee desire once more to place on record their intense gratitude to Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Yuvaraja of Mysore and to His Highness the Maharaja's Government for their continued interest in the welfare of the Society, and also to all those who in one way or other have

enabled them to develop the Society's activities and to give it a prominent place among similar Societies in India.

Father Tabard moved the adoption of the Report as follows:—

FATHER TABARD'S SPEECH.

SIR LESLIE MILLER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—Our Annual Meeting is always a welcome event to me as it affords me, once a year, an opportunity to discuss with the members the prospects of the Society.

The report just read by the General Secretary could not very well be more satisfactory. Despite adverse circumstances we have increased our membership though, for reasons explained in the Report, a large number of names has been removed from our list. We now count among our members only men really interested in our work and in the welfare of the Society, animated, in the words of the Secretary, "with the same spirit." We form a "bloc" which I have no doubt will, under the more favourable circumstances created by the long hoped for peace, go on increasing. If at a time when the mind of every one was engrossed by the momentous events which have taken place during the past five years, we have been able to keep alive interest in the events of bygone ages it is surely not too much to hope that, with the return of normal conditions, minds will turn more easily towards historical and archæological studies and that India, who has made a glorious name for herself during the great war, will come in for a larger share in connection with research work. This is why I entertain the hope of seeing in the near future on our list the names of all in India, Europe and America, who are interested in Indian studies.

To achieve that result I rely on the help of those who are already members of the Mythic Society. They all can do a great deal to make it more widely known and to enlist the sympathies of all those who perhaps are only waiting to know that there is such a thing as the Bangalore Mythic Society in order to join it. With some effort on the part of each one of us I feel confident that an enthusiastic response will be made both in India, Europe and America. I will see myself what can be done in France by bringing it to the notice of French learned societies and there cannot be the least doubt that similar societies all over the British Empire will welcome a journal that will help them to know and understand India better.

But the first step in my opinion is to gather into our net the intellectual élite of both Indians and Europeans in India.

I am afraid that it is a fact that most Europeans come out to this country with erroneous ideas about this wonderful land and, strange to say, many spend almost a lifetime out here without knowing much more of

India than on the day they first set foot on Indian soil. They have hardly any idea that there is any such thing as Indian history or Indian archæology: they may perhaps have read of the Moghul Empire and admired at Delhi, Agra, Fatihpur-Sikri or some other cities in the north the wonderful remains of Moghul architecture but of real Indian history and architecture they know next to nothing. To take a typical instance. Is it not a fact that in Mysore, for many Europeans who have lived many years in the State, Mysore history is summed up in the names of Hyder Ali and Tippu and that Seringapatam is the only place in Mysore worth a visit? As for Indian philosophy or religious systems, they are all dismissed as if they were not worth a moment's notice whilst very few make the attempt to become conversant with the customs of the people around. With regard to ethnology, it takes the new-comer a long time to realise that India is a world in itself, containing various nations each with its own characteristics, and after many years he is still at sea when he is asked to make a distinction between the Mahrattas and the Andhras or the Sivites and the Lingayats.

This more or less complete ignorance of India and things Indian may account for what may seem, though in most cases it is not, a lack of sympathy, and this accounts also for the most astounding statements one hears at times about India and things Indian from people who having spent many years in this country ought to know better.

To do him justice, the new-comer from the West comes eager to learn everything that is to be learnt about this wonderful land or at least to understand the people and their customs. He is sure to get hold, if he can, of the famous Abbé Dubois' book on "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies" but though this remarkable book can never be surpassed, yet it does not tell all that is of interest. Many discoveries in the field of Indian researches have been made since the Abbé's time and though things proverbially move slowly in the East, still one can hardly say that India is now altogether what she was when the Abbé wrote his work.

Soon the young European finds that out for himself and when he realises the fact that there is so much more to learn, he gives up the attempt as an unsurmountable task. There are, he knows, books on the subject but they are too expensive for him and he does not know in what libraries he may consult them; on the other hand, his official duties generally leave him very little time for study, and so he becomes accustomed to his surroundings, takes them for granted, fortunate indeed, if he does not make the mistake that his right to dogmatise depends not so much on real knowledge as on the number of years that he has spent in India.

To new-comers to India, whatever their path in life may be, a Society

like ours should make the strongest appeal more especially before the fire of their enthusiasm has cooled down. It should also appeal to those who after several years in India come to realise that their knowledge of India and Indians is very limited. In our Journal, they will find the result of researches which they cannot undertake themselves. In our meetings, if they can attend them, they will be able to ask questions and explanations on points which may be of special interest to them. In our library, they will have at their disposal many books which they can consult. The work is done for them. They have only to enjoy the results of the labours of others. In any case, they will be able to keep alive or to revive their interest in Indian history, philosophy, religion, literature and customs.

The help afforded by research societies to an Indian gentleman is at least as great.

Till recently, Indians have been apt to neglect the history of their motherland, and archæological remains have left them more or less indifferent. Their mind was practically occupied only with philosophical and religious studies. Western scholars had to discover India for them. Now, fortunately, things are greatly changed. All over India, a healthy, and in some cases, an enthusiastic interest has been aroused in Indian history and archæology and soon, let us hope, Western scholars will have to yield their place as leaders in those studies to India's own sons.

But again, Indians are handicapped in the same way as Europeans and in our Society they will find the same advantages as their brothers from the West. It will help a larger number to know better the India of the past with a knowledge based not on mere legends but on the sound basis of historical documents.

On the other hand, if the Mythic Society can be a help to Indians, Indian gentlemen are in the best position to explain the East to the West. They can be sure that they will intensely interest the West by explaining in papers or articles written for our Journal the philosophy, religious systems and customs of India. The danger is that being familiar themselves with those customs, they may not realise that Westerners are anxious to know and to understand them and that they are the only ones who can give us the descriptions we want and the explanation of customs which, without their help, must remain a puzzle to us.

This appeal, though addressed to all in India, is addressed in a more particular manner to Mysoreans. Were I not afraid to appear presumptuous, I would remind them that the Mythic Society is a Mysorean institution and that sons and lovers of Mysore should strain every nerve to make it the great success it deserves to be and to help it to carry the name of Mysore far and wide.

With His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore as our patron, His Highness the Yuvaraja our Vice-Patron, encouraged and supported by the highest officials in the State, I am emboldened to call upon the Mysoreans to rally around me to make brighter still this new gem in the diadem of Mysore.

Before I resume my seat, I wish to refer to the happy event which has lately made the heart of every loyal Mysorean thrill: the birth of a Son and Heir to His Highness the Yuvaraja. I shall be happy to convey to His Highness the Yuvaraja the heartiest congratulations of all the Members of the Mythic Society.

One word more, if it is one of the objects of the Mythic Society to explode myths, I must say that the newly born little Prince, by the simple fact of being born, has done more than many members of the Society: he has exploded the Talkad Myth. This we take as a good augury for our Society and in return I feel confident of voicing the feelings of all our members in expressing the wish: God bless the little Prince of Mysore.

With these remarks, I have the honour to propose that the report for 1918-19 be adopted.

Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao in a few well-chosen words seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasaiengar then proposed in the most felicitous terms the re-selection of Father Tabard as President. In doing so, he remarked that among many other qualifications for the honour, one that struck all who knew him most forcibly was his intense love for, and his deep interest in, India and Indians, more particularly Mysore and Mysoreans.

The motion duly seconded by Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer was carried by acclamation.

Mr. M. Shama Rao in his usual happy style proposed the election of the members of the committee. Mr. D. Shama Rao seconded it and it was carried *nem con.*

SIR LESLIE MILLER'S SPEECH.

Sir Leslie Miller spoke as follows:—

Looking back over some of the records of former annual meetings of the Society, I happened to notice that some of my most distinguished predecessors in this Chair found it desirable to commence by disclaiming any knowledge of the various subjects which the Society was formed to investigate and study. It is possible that no confessional statement of that kind will be required of me: my ignorance I dare say is too notorious for that: but, if I yield to none of my predecessors in ignorance of most of all of the subjects of the Society's operation, I yield also to none in my admiration of the work of the Society and of the members of it who do that work, and I am not, I hope

and believe, so ignorant as to be unable to appreciate to some extent at any rate the value of what they are doing. When I hear our President in his addresses and in his cross examination of lecturers at our readings touch lightly and familiarly on all the abstruse subjects which you will find discussed in our journals, I am filled with admiration, and it comes into my mind that if he is familiar with these deep things,

"Which are far too deep for me,

Why, what a most particularly deep young man

That deep young man must be."

But to-day "it is n't of" 'the President' "I'm going for to sing." It has been my pleasing duty on more than one former occasion at our annual meetings to invite your attention to his presidential perfection but this year my task is a different one—and I am going to shirk it, and I will tell you why.

Last year I, or perhaps I should say an early wave of Influenza did you a good turn for which you doubtless are, or at any rate ought to be, duly grateful. The president was good enough to ask me to take the Chair at the last annual meeting, but with the assistance of the influenza bacillus (if any), I succeeded in evading that obligation. We wrought better than we knew, for we enabled the President to secure the services of another Chairman, Dewan Bahadur Mr. Chakravarthi and to place on the records of the Society one of the very best addresses that has yet been seen on the work of the Society and on the value of that work to all of us, whether by predilection be we are dwellers in the past, or workers for the future. To tell you the honest truth I tried this morning to hunt up the number of the journal containing that address thinking that I might be able to extract some of its excellencies and by a process of distortion pass them off as my own ideas on those of you whose memories are not very acute. But I failed to find the journal I was seeking and I fear to plagiarise from memory, lest I should give myself away, and so you are spared a second rate re-hash of Mr. Chakravarti's, and my excellent effort. You are the more indebted to me and the bacillus because Mr. Chakravarti has left Mysore before this meeting and it may be that, but for us, you would never have had the opportunity of having him speak from the Chair. For my part being, as I have explained, unable to steal from him, I shall not attempt to compete with him and shall confine my observations to a few remarks on the report.

For one half of the period of ten years which has passed since the inauguration of the Society, I have been privileged to watch its progress and expansion: I have seen it established in its present habitation, and with interest, pleasure and I hope not without profit, I have attended its readings

and studied its journals, or those portions of them which deal with subjects not entirely beyond my comprehension: and I believe and I think you will agree with me that the Committee are fully justified in expressing their pride in its achievements: and I believe that you join me in congratulating the President, the Secretaries and Treasurer, the Committee, and by no means least the Editors of the journal on the success of their sustained and self-sacrificing efforts.

As regards membership the position is satisfactory: we certainly do not want members who are persistently in default in the payment of their subscription, but as to the other class referred to in the report, if it is a distinct class, I am not so sure: if the President's persuasiveness, or some other psychological reason induces a lady or a gentleman to pay a subscription to a society in which she or he takes no interest at all, I should be inclined to take the subscription and hope for the best for a change of heart in the subscriber. The Committee's weeder, however, has probably been merciful in his operations. I do not know if all our consciences are quite clear: if there may not here and there be one of us who even now feels the hand of the chucker-out on his shoulder, sees the finger pointing to the outer door. If any such there be, let them hasten to buck up and make amends; let not the Committee have to say next year "we were wrong; our members are not all in complete sympathy with our aims."

As to the subscription list, it behoves us to see our way to becoming self-supporting to a greater extent than we are at present. To this end, I commend to you the Committee's appeal for help to increase our membership, and (pace the Committee,) I suggest that in our efforts we need not be too inquisitive about our recruit's interest in the Society's subjects of study or sympathy with its aims; let us get his money, but at the same time let us make an attempt to arouse his interest and sympathy: and to do that let us take a leaf from the President's address and show our victim that the Society is able to help every one in some way or other. There are those who take an intelligent interest in everything that is going, and there are those who by predilection live in the past: these should require but little persuasion to join us: it should suffice as the President says to make known our existence and our aims: to this end it is possible that our name is rather an obstacle than a help. There are those who from inclination, thirst for knowledge or what not, like to trace present institutions back to their origins in ages past, and there are those who feel that without an adequate knowledge of early institutions, early efforts, failures, achievements and developments, they are not properly equipped to deal with the problems that confront them in the present or that cast over them shadows from the future. All these may

hope to find help from the Society, especially when the library is extended, and should be ready to join it on invitation; and those if any there be, who regard the past as of no moment, as a thing which may as well be blotted out and forgotten, those we may send with a letter of introduction to the President and leave it to him to "put them wise" as the saying is. A priest of earlier days so wrought, we are told, that "those who came to scoff remained to pray," and shall not our President do at least as well as he?

I have kept you too long and will only in conclusion give expression to what I am sure is your desire as members of the Society to accept the President's invitation and join the Committee in their congratulations to His Highness the Yuvaraja; and also in tendering the thanks of the Society to their Highnesses and the Government, to the lecturers of the past year and to the donors of books for the extension of our library.

TIPPOO SULTAN

The Fall of Seringapatam and the Restoration of the Hindu Raj

(A paper read before the Mythic Society)

BY R. H. CAMPBELL ESQ., I.C.S., (RD.) C.I.E., PRIVATE
SECRETARY TO H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I.

So many guide-books have been written about Seringapatam that it would be waste of labour to write another. It would be difficult to improve on Col. G. B. Malleson's "Seringapatam, Past and Present," which is still in print.

I cannot help feeling, however, that visitors to Seringapatam would like to know some further details about the life and character of Tippoo, the siege and capture of his island fortress, and the restoration of the old Hindu Raj in the person of Maharaja Krishnaraj Wadiyar the grandfather of His Highness the present Ruler of Mysore.

I have taken some trouble to collect information from contemporary records dealing with these subjects and I place these notes before the members of the Mythic Society in the hope that I may inspire others with the romantic interest which I have always felt in this particular chapter of Mysore history. It is curious how ignorant some people are of the history of the Mahomedan usurpation of Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo Sultan. I have actually been asked whether this present Maharaja was a grandson of Tippoo Sultan! With due apologies to the enlightened among my readers, I think it is well to explain here that Mysore is an ancient Hindu Kingdom, founded after the fall of the old Vijayanagar Empire, *i. e.*, sometime after the battle of Talikota which took place in the year 1565. In the year 1600 Raja Wadiyar of Mysore was still a tributary of the Raja of Anegundi. He became independent in 1610, and assumed the ceremony of sitting on a throne. Thenceforward the kingdom of Mysore grew and prospered.

In the year 1736 Chikka Krishnaraj Wadiyar became Maharaja. He was an infant and Mysore was really ruled by two brothers Devaraj Urs, who was Dálwoy or Commander-in-Chief, and Nanjaraj Urs, who was Sarvadikár or Prime Minister. Devaraj eventually retired but Nanjaraj continued practically to rule Mysore. During their period Hyder Ali, a Mahomedan military adventurer from Hyderabad, came to Mysore and took service in the Mysore Army which was engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly. Hyder Ali, who was a good soldier and, though uneducated, an exceedingly ambitious and



TIPPOO'S BIRTH PLACE AT
DEVANAHALLI.



MONUMENT MARKING TIPPOO'S
BIRTH PLACE.



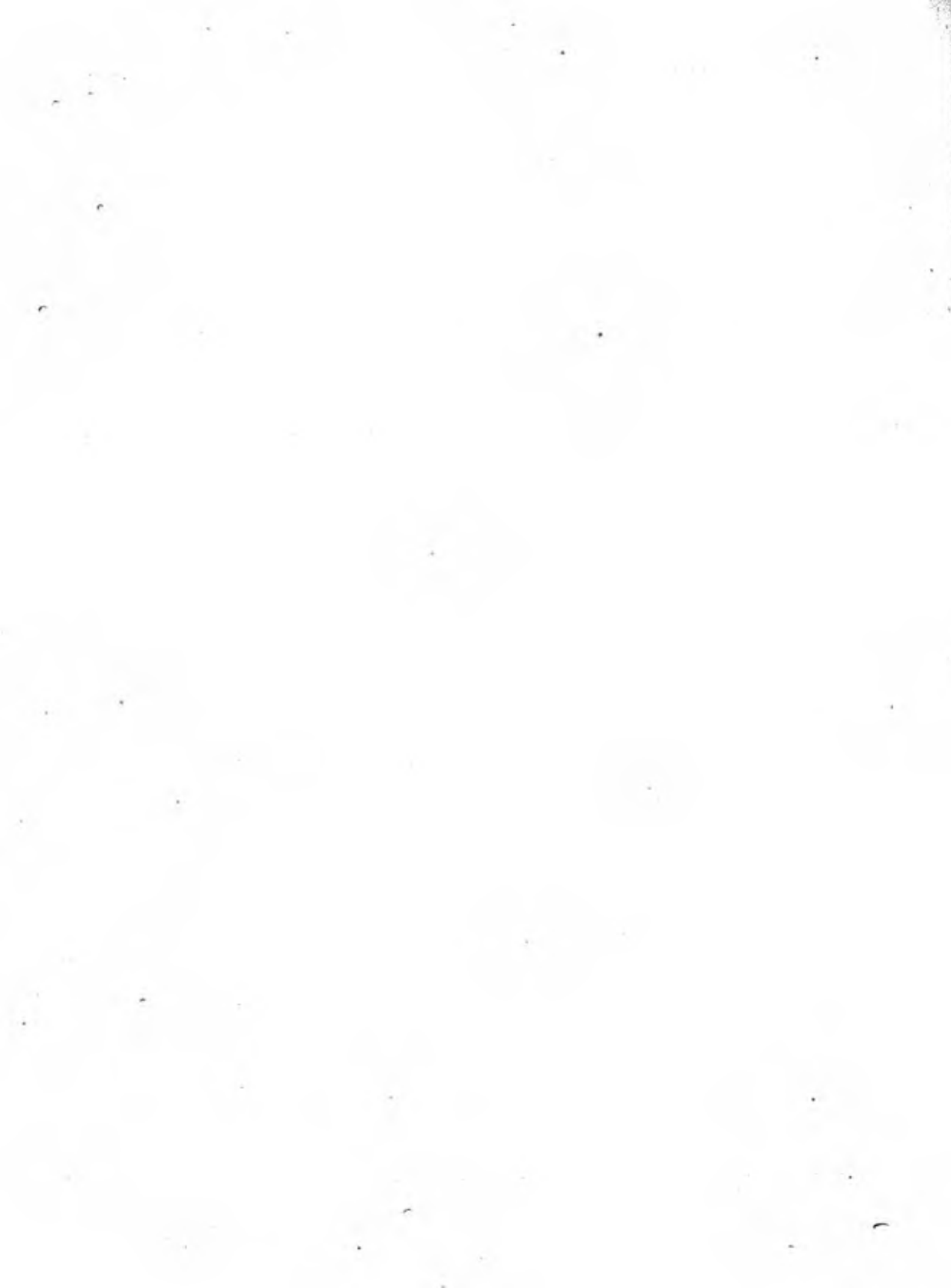
TIPPOO SULTAN.



MAUSOLEUM OF HYDER ALI'S FAMILY AT
KOLAR.



HYDER ALI'S & TIPPOO'S MAUSOLEUM AT
SERINGAPATAM.



crafty man, gradually increased his power and influence as a Commander of Horse. There was a long struggle for favor between Nanjaraj and Hyder Ali and finally Hyder made Nanjaraj a prisoner and usurped the Government of Mysore in 1759. Hyder died in camp in December 1781 of a "Royal Boil" (Carbuncle) and was succeeded by Tippoo who declared himself Sultan of Mysore.

The Mahomedan usurpation in Mysore lasted about forty years from 1759 till the death of Tippoo in 1799.

Plan of Campaign Against Tippoo Sultan in 1799 and siege and capture of Seringapatam.

The Governor-General of India, (the Marquis of Wellesley) came down to Madras to superintend the arrangements for the campaign in person.

General Harris (afterwards Lord Harris of Seringapatam) was in command of the armies which invaded Mysore in 1799.

The capture of Seringapatam itself was deemed essential to the success of the campaign.

The principal, or Madras army, assembled at Vellore and was joined by a contingent from Hyderabad and the Nizam's Horse.

The Bombay army assembled at Cannanore. It numbered 6,420 and was commanded by General Stuart. The Bombay army marched from Cannanore on February 21st 1799, ascended the *Pooducherrum* Ghat and halted eventually at Sidapoor in Coorg territory.

On the 6th of March, Tippoo with a large army attacked a detachment of the Bombay troops consisting of 2,000 men, at *Sidaseer* on the borders of Coorg. His attack was a failure and he retreated to Seringapatam. The Bombay army encountered no further resistance and eventually joined General Harris at Seringapatam.

The Madras army marched from Vellore to Kelamangalam near Hosur arriving there on March 9th. It consisted of 30,959 fighting men in addition to 6,000 of the Nizam's Horse.

General Harris left Kelamangalam on March 10th and had skirmishes with parties of the enemy's Horse. He passed Anekal on the 12th and on the 14th encamped within sight of Bangalore. Tippoo anticipated that the British would advance on Seringapatam through Bangalore by the Bangalore-Mysore Road and had made all his dispositions accordingly. Even at Seringapatam he had concentrated all his efforts on repelling an attack from the north-east. General Harris completely frustrated Tippoo's plans by suddenly marching south-westwards to Kankanhalli and Malvalli and crossing to the south bank of the Cauvery by an easy ford at a place called Sosiley. The only attempt which the enemy made to oppose him was at Malvalli where an

engagement took place on March 27th ending in the repulse of the Mysore army. The British army crossed the Cauvery on March 29th and proceeded by slow marches to Seringapatam. The enemy were in sight in considerable force but did not attempt any further opposition. On the 5th of April, the British army took up its final position south-west of Seringapatam, at a distance of 3,500 yards from the fort and facing the western rampart.

The same evening, at sunset, an attack was made by two divisions, under Cols. Shaw and Wellesley on the enemy's outposts. Col. Shaw's division succeeded in seizing a ruined village but Col. Wellesley's attack failed. The attack was pressed home on the following morning by three divisions and the British succeeded in establishing a line of outposts, two miles long, extending from the river Cauvery to the village of Sultanpet.

The work of erecting siege batteries was at once commenced. Meanwhile the Bombay army had been waiting at Periapattam, on the Coorg border, for news of General Harris' advance. General Stuart, with the Bombay army now moved westwards, and arrived opposite Seringapatam on April 14th. On the 16th the Bombay army crossed the Cauvery and took up a strong position on the north bank, facing the north-west angle of the fort. The next fortnight was spent by both British armies in clearing the banks of the river of the enemy's outposts, and in erecting breaching batteries directed on the north-west angle of the fort, that being the point selected for attack. The enemy made one sortie in considerable strength against the Bombay Army, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

On the 2nd of May our breaching batteries opened fire and by the evening of the 3rd, the breach was considered practicable and the troops destined for the assault were assembled in the trenches the same night.

The point of attack was singularly well chosen by General Harris, as on this side of the fort there was a length of 300 yards of wall, protected by only three guns and exposed to a destructive enfilading fire from the Bombay batteries on the north bank of the river. Moreover, the river was clearly fordable here from both banks. It has been mentioned before that Tippoo had devoted all his attention to strengthening the south-east and north-east sides of the fort, as he fully expected the attack to be made from the direction of Bangalore and never anticipated an attack from the south-west, as he thought that the river was an ample protection.

Col. Beatson's Account of the Storming of Seringapatam.

On May 4th 1799 "about 1-30 o'clock in the afternoon, General Baird stepped out of the trenches, drew his sword, and in the most heroic and animating manner said to his men:—"Come my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers." In an instant, both

columns rushed from the trenches and entered the bed of the river under cover of the fire of our batteries. The enemy assailed them at once with rockets and musketry.

The attack was divided into two columns, each led by a "forlorn hope."

The left column under Lt. Col. Dunlop consisted of six European flank companies from the Bombay army, H. M., 12th and 33rd regiments, ten flank companies of Bengal Sepoys and fifty artillery men.

The right column was composed as follows:—

The flank companies of the Scotch Brigade and the regiment DeMeuron, the Grenadier companies of H. M.'s 73rd and 74th Regiment (Highlanders), Fourteen flank companies of sepoys and fifty artillery men. This column was commanded by Col. Sherbrooke.

Both columns assaulted from the southern bank of the river.

The forlorn hope of each attack consisted of a sergeant and twelve Europeans who were followed by two subaltern parties commanded by Lt. Hill of the 74th (right) and Lt. Lawrence of the 77th (left). A Brigade of Engineers under Captain Caldwell accompanied the storming party. The columns were conducted by Lt. Farquhar of the 74th and Lt. Lalor of the 73rd, both of whom had reconnoitred the ford. Col. Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) with the remainder of the regiment De Meuron, and three Battalions of Native Infantry remained in support in the trenches.

In six minutes, the Forlorn Hope, closely followed by the rest of the troops, had reached the summit of the breach where the British colours were immediately displayed. In a few minutes the broken breach, 110 ft. wide, was crowded with men.

The two columns then filed off to right and left. The right column encountered little or no opposition on its way along the south-west and southern ramparts.

The left column, however, had a hard fight on the northern rampart being opposed by Tippoo in person. Col. Dunlop was wounded and disabled, and his leading officers were all either killed or wounded. Lt. Farquhar, who put himself at the head of the column, was killed. The enemy's position was eventually turned by a party of our men getting across to the inner rampart. They were reinforced by some companies of the 12th under Captain Goodall and this body of troops flanked the traverses which the enemy were defending. Meanwhile the main left column under Brigade Major Lambton pushed on and swept the northern rampart, eventually joining hands with General Baird and the right column on the eastern rampart of this fort. After this juncture the enemy made no further resistance and the fort was won.

The passage across the river from our trenches to the breach was not difficult. The bottom was smooth rock and there were only two or three small streams to cross, 12 or 15 inches deep. The water in the moat, opposite to the breach was only knee deep, and there were single projecting stones, in the wall of the ditch, which rendered scaling ladders unnecessary.

Eight or ten French officers surrendered to the right column, including M. Chapny, who commanded Tippoo's French troops.

Over 8,000 of the enemy's troops were killed in the assault, but such was our discipline that very few of the unarmed inhabitants suffered. Twenty-five British officers were killed or wounded in the assault. There were about 120 French troops in Seringapatam including twenty officers. Tippoo's garrison on the 4th of May numbered 21,839. Twenty-four of his principal officers were killed in the assault and seven wounded.

Beatson describes the capture of Seringapatam as an achievement which has never been surpassed in splendour by any event recorded in the history of the military transactions of the British nation in India.

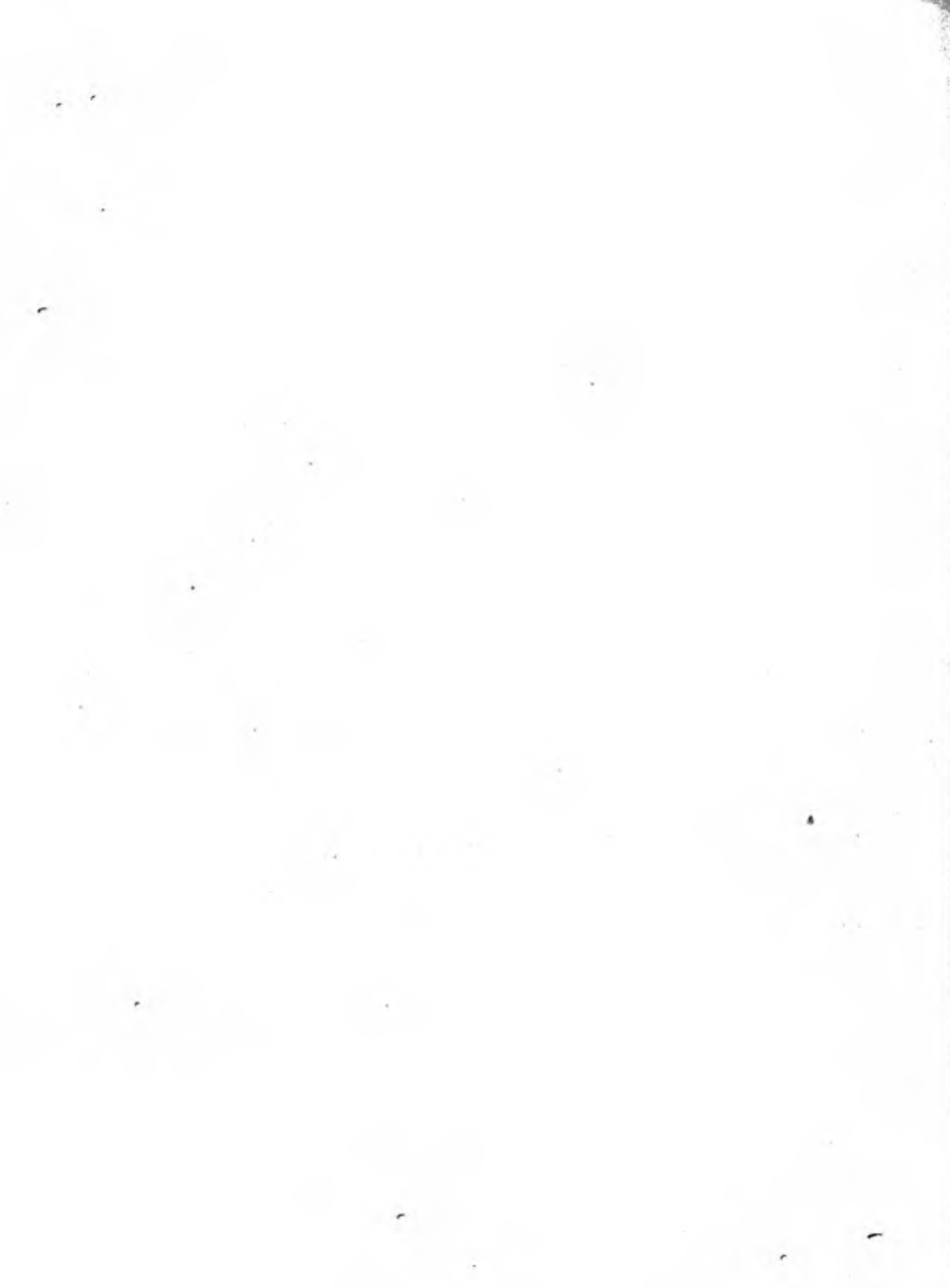
Major Allan's account of the Capture of Tippoo's Sons in the Palace of Seringapatam.

Major Allan says, "I observed from the south rampart several persons assembled in the Palace, many of whom appeared to be men of distinction. I particularly remarked that one person prostrated himself before he sat down. From this I concluded that Tippoo had taken refuge in the Palace."

"Major Beatson and I hastened to apprise General Baird of what he had seen. Under General Baird's orders I proceeded to the Palace, with a party of sepoys having fastened a white cloth to a Serjeant's pike. There I found *Major Shee* and part of the 33rd regiment drawn up opposite the gate; several of Tippoo's people were in the balcony, apparently in the greatest consternation. After a long parley with a killedar, Major Allan entered the Palace with Captain Scobey and Captain Hastings Fraser. His narrative describes how after considerable delay and evasion he eventually persuaded the princes (sons of Tippoo) to admit him to their presence. His story goes on:—'I found two of the princes seated on a carpet surrounded by a great many attendants. I sat down in front of them. I then took Prince Moizadeen by the hand and endeavoured to remove his fears and to persuade him that no violence would be offered to him and his brother. I then entreated him to inform me where his father was concealed but he assured me that the Padshaw was not in the Palace; after repeated assurances of safety, I persuaded them to allow the Palace gates to be opened. We found General Baird, several officers, and a large body of troops assembled outside. I then

[Foot note to page 17 anent the date of the birth of Tippoo Sultan.]

It is singular that there should be any doubt regarding his age, at the time of his death. By a genealogical tree, in my possession, prepared, as I conclude, from the records of the Palace, by the English Officer, charged with the immediate care of his family, he was fifty and a quarter years by the Girra at the time of his death; of course, lunar, as are all accounts so kept; this would make his age by the solar reckoning about 48 years and nine months and the date of his birth about July 1750. Butchee Rao repeated to me the Canarese verse, recording his birth, in the year *Angeera*, 17th of the month *Margasar*, which would date his birth about January 1753, and his age at the time of his death, (as Butcherow, a confidential public officer, positively affirmed), forty-six years and 4 months, solar reckoning. The first of these accounts can scarcely be correct; Hyder married, or was betrothed to the mother of Tippoo, in Coromandel in 1750. Tipoo was certainly born at Devanhally, and Hyder did not return thither till 1751. He was again in Coromandel in 1752, whence his wife was probably sent to Devanhally on the occasion of her pregnancy, for he himself remained in Coromandel till 1755. (Wilke's History of Mysore, Second Edition, p. 379, Vol. II.)



returned inside with Col. Close and persuaded the Princes to accompany us outside. General Baird was sensibly affected by the sight of the Princes, and received them with every mark of regard, repeatedly assuring them that no violence or assault would be offered to them".

The Princes were then conducted to headquarters in camp, escorted by the Light Company of the 33rd Regiment and, as they passed, our troops presented arms.

Return of killed, wounded or missing during the operations against Seringapatam from 4th April to 4th May 1799 :—

Europeans.

Killed ...	...	...	181
Wounded	...	...	622
Missing	...	...	22

Indians.

Killed ...	...	...	119
Wounded	...	...	420
Missing	...	...	100

British Officers.

Killed ...	...	...	22
Wounded	...	...	45

Tippoo's daily Life and Character.

Tippoo Sultan was born in 1751. His height was 5 feet 8 inches. He was a very good horseman and disapproved of palankeens, hacknies, and all such conveyances, as proper only for women. His dress was remarkably plain. He usually wore a sword slung across his body and a dagger in his girdle. His thoughts were always bent on war and revenge against the English. He was frequently heard to say that in this world he would rather live two days as a tiger than two hundred years like a sheep. He adopted as an emblem of his State the figure of a royal tiger, whose head and stripes were the chief ornament of his throne and of almost every article that belonged to him.

His throne was very magnificent. The support was a wooden tiger, as large as life, covered with gold, and in the attitude of standing. His head and forelegs appeared in front and the throne was placed across his back. The throne itself was an octagonal frame, eight feet by five, surrounded by a low railing on which were ten small tigers' heads made of gold, and inlaid with precious stones. At the back a gilded pillar rose, seven feet high, surmounted by a canopy superbly decorated with a fringe of pearls. The whole was made of wood, covered with thin sheets of pure gold, richly

illuminated with tiger stripes and Arabic verses. On the top of the canopy was the figure of a bird called the "Huma," about the size of a pigeon. It had a long tail and outspread wings. It was made of gold and covered with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. The "Huma" is a mythical Persian bird and is supposed always to be flying and never to touch the ground. This bird was sent by Lord Wellesley to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

After the Peace of 1792 Tippoo adopted, as the title of his dominions the words "Khudadad Sirkar" which means "the Government, the gift of God."

During the last siege Tippoo observed to one of his Generals:—"I have been present at many battles, but never at the defence of a fort. I have no idea of the proper method of defending this fort."

Tippoo prohibited the sale of spirits and intoxicating drugs throughout his dominions saying that God had forbidden the use of wine.

He was passionably fond of new inventions and in his Palace were found a great number of curious swords, daggers, guns, pistols and blunderbusses.

Tippoo generally rose at day-break and was shampooed and rubbed. He read the Koran for an hour and then give an audience to officers on public business. He then spent half an hour inspecting the Javahir Khana, where jewellery, plate, fruit and other articles were kept. He then had breakfast with his three youngest children and a munshi. He dictated letters at breakfast. His food consisted of nuts, almonds, fruit, jelly and milk.

After breakfast he dressed himself in rich clothes and held a durbar to despatch the ordinary affairs of his government. He used to spend several hours every morning reviewing the new recruits of his army and asking them questions as to their caste, country and religious knowledge.

In the evenings, he generally rode out to superintend the training of his troops. On his return to the Palace he received reports, etc., and news of the day, and delivered orders on petitions and letters from the different provinces. He generally passed the evening with his three eldest sons and one or two State officers, who took supper with him. During supper, he was fond of reciting passages from history and the poets. After supper, he walked about by himself for exercise and then lay down and read religion or history until he fell asleep. Tippoo would never listen to advice, unless it coincided with his own views.

Tippoo wrote and composed with ease and elegance and had a great talent for business. He hated people of other religions. He never saluted any one and never returned a salute. He took only two meals a day, and all his Amirs and Princes dined with him. From the day that peace was made between him and Lord Cornwallis in 1792, (this was a most humiliating

Treaty as Tippoo was obliged, in order to avoid surrendering Seringapatam, to give up two of his sons as hostages, and to relinquish a large extent of territory) he abandoned his bedstead and vowed never to sleep on it again until he was revenged on the English. Thereafter, until the day of his death, he slept on on a piece of canvas, (called khaddi, and used for making tents) spread on the ground. He never allowed jests or ribaldry in his presence. He was accustomed to tie a white handkerchief over his turban and under his chin, and no one else was allowed to do this. In delicacy and modesty of feeling he was the most particular man in the world, so much so that all his life through no one ever saw any part of the person except his ankles and wrists. Even in his bath he always covered himself from head to foot! He was a good rider. His chief aim in life was the protection and encouragement of the Mahomedan religion and the rules of the Sunni sect. And yet he did not interfere with the magnificent Hindu Temples in the fort of Seringapatam, but carried on his father's policy of tolerance towards the Hindoo religion. There are records still in existence of grants and sunnads given by Tippoo and his father to Hindoo shrines like that at Sringeri. Tippoo was dark and stoutly built with delicate features, hands and feet.

Tippoo's conduct on the Day of his Death.

(From Beatson.)

During the fourteen days of the siege, Tippoo Sultan took up his residence in the Kullaly Diddy, which was formerly a water-gate through the outer Rampart of the North Face of the Fort, and led to the "Delhi" causeway over the river. Here he occupied a small stone choultry, inside the gate, enclosed by curtains, forming an apartment in which he ate and slept.

The Mahomedan and Brahmin astrologers had apprised the Sultan that the 4th of May 1799, being the last day of the Lunar month, was an inauspicious day. Alarmed by their prognostications, the Sultan went to the Palace at 10 A. M., and distributed amongst the Brahmins the following gifts:—

(1) An elephant covered with a black cloth, with valuable jewels and money tied on the four corners, (2) a black bullock, (3) milch buffalo, (4) a male buffalo, (5) a black she-goat, (6) a jacket and cap of coarse black cloth, (7) ninety rupees in cash, (8) an iron pot filled with oil. The idea underlying these gifts was to transfer his own bad luck to the recipients. Before giving them the iron pot, he held his head over it, in order to see his own face reflected in the oil. After asking the Brahmins to pray for his prosperity, he went back to the Kullaly Diddy. There he was told that the British were preparing to storm the Fort and that 4,000 or 5,000 of them were assembled in the trenches, but he refused to believe that they would assault the Fort in

the day-time. At about 1 P. M., he ordered his dinner but he had not finished his meal when he was disturbed by the noise of the attack. He at once washed his hands and called for his sword and guns. Whilst he was buckling on his sword he received intelligence that his best general Syed Gaffoor had been killed. He exclaimed "Syed Gaffoor was never afraid of death. We also shall soon depart." He then ascended the northern rampart, followed by five men carrying four guns and a blunder-buss, and by two or three eunuchs. He advanced towards the attack, and when within 200 yards of the breach, he stood behind one of the traverses and fired seven or eight shots at the enemy with his own hand. His head servant Rajah Khan thinks that he killed three or four Europeans. As the attacking force advanced, the Sultan retired along the north rampart; meeting a favourite horse he mounted it and proceeded eastwards along the rampart till he came to the slope at the new sally-port in the inner rampart. Here he descended, still on horse-back, and crossed the bridge over the inner ditch. When he entered the sally-port or water-gate, it was so much crowded that he could not get through. Just then the storming party, advancing along the outer rampart came to the Bridge and fired into the gate, wounding the Sultan. On receiving the wound, the Sultan advanced three or four paces into the gateway. The firing increased and the Sultan was shot through the left breast while his horse was wounded in the leg. His servant Rajah Khan suggested that the Sultan should surrender, but he replied:— "Are you mad? be silent." Rajah Khan tried to assist the Sultan from his saddle and they both fell among the dead and wounded. A Grenadier (named Christian) then came up to Tippoo, not knowing who he was, and seized his sword-belt, in order to strip it of its gold buckle. The Sultan snatched a drawn sword, which was lying within his reach and made a cut at the soldier. The blow fell on his musket. He made another stroke at a second soldier, with more effect and immediately afterwards was killed by a musket-ball which penetrated his right temple.

The Funeral of Tippoo Sultan.

The body left the Fort at 4 P. M., on May the 5th. The bier was supported by attendants from the Palace and followed by four companies of European Grenadiers. Tippoo's son, Abdul Khalek rode behind the bier. Meer Allum and the Chiefs of the Nizam's Army met the body at the entrance to the Lal Bagh, and fell into the procession. When the body reached the gate of Hyder's tomb, the Grenadiers formed a street, and presented arms as it passed. The body was placed next to that of Hyder and the tomb is distinguished, to this day, by a scarlet cloth cover, denoting that Tippoo died a martyr to his faith, fighting against the infidel.

The evening closed with a most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning which killed two officers and several men in the Bombay Camp.

The Sons of Tippoo Sultan.

1. Mohi Uddin Sultan.
2. Hyder Ali Sultan or Futteh Hyder.
3. Abdul Khalek Sultan.
4. Moiz Uddin Sultan.
5. Subban Sahib Sultan.
6. Shukur Ullah Sultan.
7. Gholam Ahmad Sultan.
8. Gholam Mahommed Sultan.
9. Sururer Uddin Sultan.
10. Yasue Sahib Sultan.
11. Jama Udden Sultan.
12. Mouir Uddin Sultan.

All these sons were sent in 1799 as State prisoners to Vellore. In 1806 a serious mutiny broke out among the native troops in Vellore. The mutineers murdered a number of British officers and hoisted Tippu's royal standard. The mutiny was quelled by Col. Gillespie, who was commanding a dragoon regiment at Ranipet, and who galloped into Vellore with his regiment, blew in the fort gate and was himself hoisted up to the top of the gate by a rope made of British soldiers' belts.

After this Tippoo's sons were banished to Calcutta where their families faded into obscurity. The so called lineal descendant came to see me at Delhi during the Durbar of 1911. He appeared to be living in great poverty. "Sic transit gloria mundi."

The place where Tippoo fell.

I do not know where Col. Malleson derives his information that Tippoo after he was wounded dragged himself to an arch, 100 yards to the right of the present water-gate in the northern rampart.

Major Allan who was present at the assault tells the following story as to what transpired when General Baird, after the storming of the fortress, questioned an old Killehdar as to the whereabouts of the Sultan :—

"The Killehdar on being questioned said that the Sultan was not in the Palace, but that he had been wounded and lay in a gateway in the north face of the Fort. General Baird proceeded to the gateway which was filled with many hundreds of the slain. The bodies were ordered to be dragged out and examined one by one, but this proved an endless task. As it was becoming dark a light was procured and I accompanied the Killehdar to the gateway.

There we discovered a wounded person, lying under the Sultan's palanquin. This man was found to be Rajah Khan, Tippoo's confidential servant and he pointed out where the Sultan's body was lying. When Tippoo's body was brought out, his eyes were open and his body was so warm that Col. Wellesley and I thought he must be alive. On feeling his pulse and heart, all doubt was removed. He had four wounds, three in his body and one on his temple, the ball having entered a little above the left ear and lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen and loose drawers of flowered chintz with a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist. A handsome pouch with a red and green silk belt hung across his shoulder. His head was uncovered, his turban being lost in the confusion of his fall. He had an amulet on his arm, but no other ornaments."

"Tippo was of low stature and corpulent, with high shoulders and a short thick neck, but his feet and hands were remarkably small. His eyes were large and prominent with small arched eye-brows, and his nose aquiline. He had an appearance of dignity, or perhaps sternness, in his countenance which distinguished him above the common order of people".

Another account, given at page 103 of the appendix to Col. Beatson's History of the Siege of Seringapatam runs as follows:—

After describing the fight made by Tippoo on the outer northern rampart, the narrator says:—

"While any of his troops remained with him, the Sultan continued to dispute the ground, till he approached the *passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort*. Here he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, which had been badly wounded when he was very young, and desiring, that his mare might be brought, he mounted, and seeing the Europeans advancing on both ramparts, he made for the gate followed by his Palankeen and a number of officers, troops and servants.....As he was crossing to the gate by the communication (presumably a bridge) from the outer rampart, he received a musket ball in his right side, nearly in line with his breast. He however passed on until he was stopped about half-way through the arch by the fire of the 12th Light Infantry from within, when he received a second ball in the right side, close to the other. His mare being wounded, at the same time sank under him and his turban fell to the ground. The Sultan was immediately raised by his adherents and placed upon his palankeen, under the arch, where he lay or sat for some moments faint and exhausted, until some European soldiers entered the gateway. A servant, who had survived, relates that one of the soldiers seized the Sultan's swordbelt and attempted to pull it off and that the Sultan, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier, with all his remaining strength, and wounded

him about the knee ; on which the soldier put his piece to his shoulder and shot the Sultan dead." After Tippoo's body was found as described by Major Allan, an officer, with General Baird's permission took from off the right arm a talisman which contained, sewed up in flowered silk, an amulet of brittle metallic substance, of the colour of silver, and some magic writing in Persian and Arabic characters.

Lord Valentia, in his travels written in 1803 says, "the gateway in which Tippoo fell has been destroyed with the inner work (rampart) ; a road is formed in its stead with trees planted on each side. (This is the road which now exists inside the Fort, close to the northern rampart.)

It is clear from all their accounts that the place where Tippoo fell was not the present watergate, but a similar gate in the inner rampart, opposite to the water gate. Presumably there was a moat between the two gates.

There is a curious story told in the memoirs of Major Harris, a one-legged officer who accompanied the Bombay Army to Seringapatam as "Loot" officer. Major Harris says that on the day of the capture of this fortress he and a certain regimental doctor came upon the body of Tippoo lying in a palankeen and that the Doctor borrowed his penknife and cut off one half of Tippoo's moustache (a ghoulisn thing to do in all conscience!)

Tippoo's Childishness.

A curious mechanical toy belonging to Tippoo was found at Seringapatam among the loot. It was a life-size figure of a tiger standing over a prostrate European. When you turned a handle the tiger roared and his victim wriggled. This toy was sent home to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Treatment by Hyder Ali and Tippoo of the Hindu Maharajas of Mysore.

Hyder Ali, though virtual ruler of Mysore, recognized the nominal sovereignty of the Hindu Maharaja in whose service he had risen to such great power. He made the Maharaja more or less a State prisoner in 1759. Maharajah Chikka Krishnaraj died in 1766 and Hyder Ali recognized the succession of his son Nunjaraj. This Prince died in 1771 and was succeeded by his younger brother Chamraj, who died without issue at the age of 14.

Hyder then ordered eight or ten boys lineally related to the royal family to be brought before him for the purpose of selecting one of them to be Maharaja. Some fruit was distributed among them and Hyder remarked that only one of them named Chamaraj gave his share of the fruit to his father. Hyder chose this boy, aged four, to be Maharaja, but he died of small-pox in 1796.

Tippoo did not nominate or acknowledge any successor to Chamaraj. The latter had seven wives and it was his son Krishnaraj Wadiyar, who was placed on the throne by the British in 1799.

At the time of the storming of Seringapatam, the young Maharaja with his step-mothers and other members of the family were living in a small house at Seringapatam, adjoining the northern rampart on an allowance of £885 a year granted to them by Tippoo.

After it was decided to instal Krishnaraj Wadiyar as Maharaja, the British Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore announced their intention to the family through the future Dewan Poorniah. The two nearest relatives of the young Maharaja then sent the following letter, to the Commissioners.

To

Lt. General George Harris, the Hon. Col. Arthur Wellesley, Mr. Henry Wellesly, Lt. Col. William Kirkpatrick, Lt. Col. Barry Close, Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore.

From

Letchima Amma, the wife of Krishna Raja Wadiyer and Devaj Amma the wife of Chama Raj Wadiyer, with Compliments :—

On the 24th of June 1799.

"Your having conferred on our child the government of Mysore, Nuggur, and Chitaldrug, with their dependencies, and appointed Purniah to be Dewan has afforded us the greatest happiness. We shall, while the sun and moon continue, commit no offence against your Government. We shall at all times consider ourselves under your protection and orders. Your having established us must for ever be fresh in the memory of our posterity, from one generation to another. Our off-spring can never forget an attachment to your Government on whose support we shall depend."

On receiving this letter the Commissioners paid a visit to Her Highness and their family.

They found the young Raja and his family in a condition of poverty and humiliation which excited the strongest compassion. The Senior Ranee expressed from behind a purdah the gratitude of the family in suitable terms, and dilated on the persecution which they had suffered from Tippoo. Referring to the young Maharaja the Commissioners reported :—"The young Rajah's name is Krishna Rajah Wodiayer; he is said to be five years old. His complexion is rather fair and his countenance very expressive. He is of a delicate habit and apparently of a timid disposition, as he displayed some symptoms of alarm on first seeing the Commissioners."

After this visit Purniah consulted the Brahmins and reported to the Commissioners that June 30th was an auspicious day for installing the young Maharaja and the ceremony took place at Mysore on that date.

The members of the Commission escorted by H. M.'s 12th Regiment and a detachment of cavalry proceeded on the morning of June 30th from

Seringapatam to Mysore. They were met at the old Palace by the Maharajah with his male relations and Purniah.

Lt. General Harris and Meer Allum (representing the Nizam) each took the little Maharaja by the hand and led him to the musnud on which they placed him under a royal salute fired from the Fort of Seringapatam, and three volleys of musketry from the troops present. General Harris then presented to the Maharaja the seal and signet of the "Raj." The deportment of the young Prince during the ceremony was quite dignified and free from any symptoms of restraint or alarm.

After the investiture, the Brahmin Purniah was appointed to be His Highness' Dewan.

Lt. Col. Close was selected for the post of Resident with the Maharaja and the command of Seringapatam was placed in the hands of the Hon'ble Col. Wellesley. As a sequel to the above I give below an interesting account of a visit paid four years later by Lord Valentia to the young Maharaja.

Lord Valentia's visit to Bangalore, Seringapatam and Mysore.

Lord Valentia accomplished this journey by palanquin from Madras in the year 1803. He reached Bangalore on February 28th. He refers to the Bangalore Fort as a strong one with a fine glacis. He much enjoyed a plate of strawberries from the Sultan's garden and he comments favourably on the climate of Bangalore remarking that every European vegetable, and most of our fruits could probably be grown there.

On the 29th he came in sight of Seringapatam. The view was disappointing the only conspicuous objects being the minarets of the mosque and the "Cavalier" with the British colours flying. He remarks, on the subject of tanks, that Tippoo destroyed many, but built none. He tells a good story illustrating the impartiality of Hyder Ali. A celebrated Mahomedan Saint called Peer Laddah complained to him that the Hindus at Seringapatam had beaten his followers. Hyder learned that the Mahomedans had been the aggressors as they had attacked a Hindu procession. When Peer Laddah argued that the procession was an insult to the Mahomedan religion and that the conduct of the Hindoos should not be tolerated by Hyder as "the head of a Mussalman Government," Hyder replied "who told you that this was a Mussalman Government?.....I am sure I never did." The Peer then threatened to leave Seringapatam and Hyder told him he could go wherever he pleased. The Peer eventually retired to Madras and died there.

Lord Valentia's Visit to the Young Maharaja of Mysore, who was then nine years old.

On March 2nd, Lord Valentia went from Seringapatam to Mysore, and stayed in a small house built by the Rajah for the British Resident. He des-

cribes the new town of Mysore as consisting of one street about a mile long. He went to the Fort, about 9 A. M., to visit the Rajah and found the garrison drawn up to receive him. He describes the Palace as small and neat, but not finished, and says that there was a great deal of empty space inside the Fort. The musnud was placed in a verandah on the left of the entrance. It was of ivory fantastically carved, and was found among the stores of Tippoo. Lord Valentia continues his narrative as follows:—

His Highness was dressed in gold tissue with some handsome pearls round his neck. A crest (dagger?) of gold was lying on one side of him, on the other, a small sword. On entering, I made my salaams, which he returned and held out his hand, which I did not perceive. Chairs were placed on his left hand for me and my party.....On his right were Narasinga Row, and Buche Row. In front of His Highness was an asperge filled with flowers of the champak, and on each side a servant held branches of burning incense. His Highness was considerably agitated at first, his breast heaving visibly; but after a little while he recovered himself and behaved with great dignity and propriety. I paid the usual compliments through Major Symsons and Narasinga Row and expressed my satisfaction at seeing him on the throne of his ancestors, and he replied that he owed everything to the British Government and that his gratitude was unbounded and then talked about Mysore and other subjects and he conversed sensibly and without hesitation. He is about eleven years old, of middle size, not handsome, but of an intelligent countenance. He seemed lively and smiled once, but was immediately checked by a person who stood by him. I enquired as to his pursuits and was informed that he was fond of riding and the sports of the field. When I observed that he seemed playful, I was instantly assured that he was not so. I strongly recommended his learning English... ..I presented him with a small sabre with a handle of agate ornamented with rubies, and he said that he valued the gift particularly as he was a Kshatriya. He gave me in return a handsome string of pearls with a pendant of flat diamonds, and uncut rubies. He presented me with two beautiful chowries, two pankabs, two walking sticks of sandalwood and bottles of sandalwood oil. A salute was then fired from the Fort and strings of champak were put round our necks. His mother sent me her compliments. Pan, attar, were then distributed and then we took our leave. As the musnud was fully four feet from the ground His Highness would have found it difficult to have risen or descended to take leave, so I shook hands with him where he was.

Lord Valentia's Visit to Seringapatam.

Lord Valentia arrived at Seringapatam on February 29th, 1803. He was met by Col. DeMeuron and all the officers of his Regiment and lodged in

Tippoo's Palace. He gives this following description of Seringapatam :—

"The Loll Mahal, or private residence of Tippoo (this was inside the Fort, opposite to the Water-gate, and between the two Hindu Temples) consists but of one square, three sides of which are divided into two stories, with a verandah of painted wood in front. Behind were many small rooms used by him as warehouses. The fourth side consisted of a single room, the same height as the rest of the building. This was the Durbar of the tyrant, in which he sat or wrote or received ministers. It is a very handsome room about seventy feet long and forty feet deep. The walls are painted red, with a gilt trellis work running over it, formed by the tiger "scratches," the favourite ornament of Tippoo. (This device is still to be seen inside Tippoo's tomb). Sentences of the Koran, in letters of gold, each about a foot high run round the room as a cornice. Three rows of pillars sustain the roof, which is the same colour as the walls. Each pillar is a single piece of wood painted red and highly varnished. They have bases of black marble. Their shape is fantastic, bulging much towards the base, but again narrowing. Behind the Durbar is a small room in which the tyrant slept, when fear or anger would permit him. There are only two windows, both grated with iron, and the door is strongly secured. The only entrances to the Loll Mahal are through the harem that adjoined and through a narrow winding passage in which Tippoo kept some lions and tigers chained as an additional precaution."

Lord Valentia dined with Col. DeMeuron and his officers in the palace of Hyder Ali ; the state room was painted green with much gilding.

NOTE :—(There is no trace left of other palaces in the Fort except one building which is used for storing sandal wood.)

Lord Valentia mentions another "Loll Baugh" or the Country Palace of Tippoo's which was built by Hyder Ali and was in the same garden as the Gumbuz or Tomb. It was two stories high and the upstairs contained some very good apartments and balconies opening into Courts. It was prettily painted but very gloomy. "Adjoining this Palace to quote from this narrative" is the Mausoleum of Hyder, Tippoo and the former's wife, who lie under tombs of black marble. In the verandah are buried several of the family (including Tippoo's foster-mother, who has a black marble tomb) and outside, on the platform, are the tombs of several faithful servants.

Lord Valentia gives an interesting description of the Summer Palace or Dhariya Dowlat, built by Tippoo nearer this town. It was then the residence of General Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington). Here Tippoo frequently retired in the early morning and remained the whole day, but invariably returned to Seringapatam at night. This palace was very much the same as it is now. The Battle Scene painting is obviously the

same, as Lord Valentia refers to the Major Baillie in the centre of a hollow square, and the tumbrik exploding, while Tippoo and Hyder are advancing against him.

The paintings on the wall of the Eastern Verandah, which now depict scenes from Mahommedan Court life have certainly been altered since 1803. Lord Valentia describes these as follows :—

“Hyder and Tippoo appear there in all their splendour as conquerors, and the different princes conquered are painted below.” Lord Valentia refers to a painting of a certain British officer, whom Tippoo despised, and who was depicted drawing his sword on a woman, and amusing himself with dancing girls.

The fact that there is a portrait of the grandfather of His Highness the present Maharaja on this Eastern wall, indicates that the wall was repainted in his time.

Lord Valentia gives a description of the “Breach” which he visited in company with several officers who were present at the storming of the Fort, and who explained every thing to him. He mentions that Tippoo's garrison were unable to stay on the south-west rampart owing to the enfilading fire from the Bombay batteries on the north bank of the river. Those who were obliged to be there had dug themselves holes in the earth, and in these, they were taking dinner when the storming party entered and killed many of them before they could get out.

During the assault, a small party of soldiers, in the heat of attack, passed from the outer to the inner rampart over a wall which joined them, though it was very high and only a foot wide (this does not strike one after all as a very daring feat). These men out-flanked the sultan and his troops.

When Lord Valentia visited Seringapatam, the inner ditch and rampart had been completely destroyed, except that part where the wall gave a passage to the soldiers. This passage is described as so hazardous that on the day after the siege the same soldiers refused to cross it in cold blood. As regards the place where Tippoo fell, Lord Valentia says very clearly :—“The gateway in which Tippoo fell has been destroyed with the inner work” (ditch and rampart.)

Lord Valentia mentions a Capt. Scott who was in charge of a new gun-carriage Factory at Seringapatam. This is presumably Col. Scott of Scott's Bungalow fame. He also describes the Wellesley Bridge (on the Bangalore side of the island) which the Dewan Poorniah was then building for the convenience of the garrison. It was constructed of pillars, three in a row ten feet from each other and eighteen feet high, sunk in the solid rock with large stones laid on the top. The bridge over the southern arm of the

river was in existence in Tippoos time. Visitors should notice the masonry aqueduct which runs under the roadway of this southern bridge, and which supplied water to the island.

Origin of Hyder Ali.

(From Lord Valentia.)

"It appears nearly certain that Hyder's family came originally from Arabia and were probably of high descent, for the first member who came to India about 1660, was appointed Moulah of the Mosque at Vijiapoor, and on his removal to Gulbarga, married with the family of a celebrated Fakeer. A junior branch of his family removed from Gulbarga to Sera (in Mysore) and were received into the service of the Soubadar. This Soubadar moved to Kolar and Futteh Hyder, the father of Hyder Ali rose to eminence in his service and was at length employed by the Rajah of Seringapatam. On his death, his son Hyder Ali succeeded to all his commands."

Library of Tippoo Sultan.

Tippoo's library consisted of about 2,000 volumes of Asiatic literature and a large collection of State Papers which afforded complete evidence of Tippoos intrigues against the English with the French, the Turks, the Afghans, the Mahrattas, the Mogul Emperor at Delhi, the Rajputs, the Persians, the Arabs and even the Nepaulese.

As Beatson says:—"The hatred of Tippoo against the English was undoubted, but the eagerness and virulence with which he prosecuted his favourite plan of destroying the British power could never have been credited but for the revelations contained in his own State Papers."

There has been a curious tendency of late to whitewash Tippoo Sultan and to represent him as the victim of British aggression. Only recently I read a paper in which it was stated that the arrival of some French adventurers at Seringapatam from Mauritius was misconstrued by the British Government into evidence of an intrigue on the part of Tippoo with the French Republican Government. The facts however are clear that Tippoo deliberately sent ambassadors to Mauritius in order to form an offensive and defensive alliance against the British, that his overtures were accepted and that the 200 French adventurers who arrived at Seringapatam were sent at his request, to aid him in waging war against the British Government. This was a direct violation on Tippoos part of treaty relations and he had no one but himself to blame for the tragedy which followed and which ended both his life and his dynasty.

Tippoo's Intrigues with the French.

The following is a translation of a letter from Napoleon Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultan referred to on page 34 of Malleeson's book.

*French Republic.**Liberty**Equality.*

Buonaparte, Member of the National Convention, General in Chief, to the most magnificent Sultan, our greatest friend Tippoo Sahib.

Head Quarters at Cairo.

7th Pluviose, 7th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

"You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have, of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, promising your confidence, with whom I may confer.

May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies.

BUONAPARTE.

Tippoo's Superstitious Nature.

Tippoo always wore an amulet on his arm to preserve him from danger. He was a great believer in dreams and kept a record of his own. The following are translations of some of his dreams:—

I.

"On the night of Thursday and towards the morning, this servant of God had a dream. Methought it was reported that a Frenchman of rank was arrived.....I rose up and embraced him and enquired after his health and methought the Christian said:—

"I am come with 10,000 men for the service of this Khoodadad Sircar, I have disembarked them all on the shore of the sea and am come to present myself, and methought I said unto him:—It is well done, by the favour of God, and all the followers of Islam are ready to prosecute the holy War. At this moment the morning dawned and I awoke."

NOTE:—This dream illustrates how Tippoo must have been obsessed with the idea of an alliance with the French against the English.

II.

At the capital on the night of Sunday, I had a dream. Methought that they brought and placed before me three silver trays of fresh dates of the species called "moist." The dates were each a span in length, fresh and full of juice and it was reported to me that they had been reared in my own garden. At that moment I awoke; it was morning.

Thus did the servant of God interpret the dream:—That by the grace of God, the dominion of the three Kaffirs (infidels) shall fall into my hands.

On the 21st of Hydery, at the place where I had halted on the further side of the Tungabuddra, I had a dream.

Methought it was the day of judgment, when no one is interested in the concerns of another. At that time a stranger of commanding aspect with eyes of brightness, and a blooming countenance, with a beard and moustache came to me and taking my hand, said to me,.....I am Morteya Ali (son-in-law of Mahommed). The prophet of God hath said, and still sayeth 'I will not place my foot in Paradise without thee. I was rejoiced and awoke.

God is all powerful and the Prophet is his intercessor. It sufficeth.

IV.

On the night of Thursday of the year, I had a dream. Methought a young man of a beautiful countenance a stranger, came and sat down, and methought I jested with him in the manner that a person playfully talks with a woman. In this instant, the youth rose and loosened his hair from beneath his turban and I saw it was a woman.

NOTE.—Tippoo interpreted the above dream as meaning that the Mah-rattas with whom he was at War, had put on the clothing of men, but were really women in character. He attacked their camp soon afterwards with two or three hundred men and they all fled like women.

V.

The following dream must, I think, have been the result of an indigestible supper :—

"On the 7th of the month Janfree I had a dream. Methought that on the road, near my encampment, I saw a cow with its calf in semblance like a large striped tiger. Its countenance, teeth, etc., were in the manner of a tiger ; its forelegs were as those of a cow ; its hinder legs were wanting ; its forelegs had a little motion and it was greatly destructive. Having reconnoitred it, I returned to camp, and directed several persons to come with me, intending, please God, to approach this cow with tiger's form and with my own hand cut it and its calf to pieces. Having reviewed my household stud, I gave orders for two grey horses to be quickly saddled and brought.

At this moment the morning appeared and I awoke.

The following interpretation of the dream suggested itself to my mind:—

The Hill Christians, resembling cows with their calves, have the appearance of tigers, and by the favour of God, they will all be slain."

Cruelty of Tippoo.

An accountant in the Fort told Col. Beatson the following story :—

Thirteen English prisoners were taken during the siege. These unfortunate men were put to death, three or four at a time, their necks being twisted and broken by "Jetties" or professional Hindoo wrestlers. Some of the bodies

were actually found and recognized by the officers of Col. Wellesley's Regiment.

Among Tippoo's State papers was found a document in his own handwriting which runs as follows:—

"There are 500 Coorg prisoners, who must be dealt with in such a manner as shall ensure their death in the course of a month or twenty days; such of their women as are young must be given to Musalmans and the rest together with their children kept in prison on a small allowance."

Tippoo's Duplicity.

When taxed by the Marquis of Wellesley with intriguing with the French, Tippoo wrote as follows:—

"In the Sircar (the gift of God) there is a mercantile tribe, who employ themselves in trading by sea and land. Their agents purchased a two masted vessel and having loaded her with rice, departed with a view to traffic. It happened that she went to Mauritius (Tippoo had actually sent two ambassadors in this ship to Mauritius to obtain help from the French against the British from whence forty persons, French of a dark colour, paying the hire of the ship, came to my country seeking employment. Such as chose to take service were enlisted by me and the remainder departed. The French, who are full of vice and deceit, have perhaps taken advantage of the departure of the ship, to put about reports unfavourable to me."

In the same letter to the Marquis of Wellesley received at Madras in December 1798, Tippoo congratulated the Governor-General on the "Victory of the Nile" in the following words:—

"The particulars which your Lordship has communicated to me relative to the victory of the English fleet over that of the French, near the shores of Egypt have given me more pleasure than can possibly be conveyed in writing. Indeed, I possess the firmest hope that the Leaders of the English and the Company Bahadur, who ever adhere to the practice of security, friendship and good faith.....will at all times be successful and victorious, and that the French, who are of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies of mankind, may ever be deprived and ruined."

General Baird's Captivity at Seringapatam.

(From Beatson's narrative.)

Major General Baird, when Captain of the Light Infantry of the late 73rd Regiment (now 71st) was severely wounded and taken prisoner with Col. Baillie, at the battle of Pollelore on September 10th 1780. After being kept in Hyder Ali's camp for five or six weeks, with Col. Baillie and six other officers, he and three others were sent to Seringapatam and confined in a small Malabar

House, subject to every insult which the guard chose to offer. The number of prisoners gradually increased to forty-two or forty-three. They were all kept in irons and allowed only one fanam (about two pence) each a day to furnish every article of life. Col. Baillie died in prison. Major General Baird was a prisoner at Seringapatam for three and a half years and was released at the Peace of Mangalore in 1784.

NOTE.—It seems from the above that General Baird was not confined in the dungeons under the northern rampart, though there is little reason to doubt that these dungeons were used for the confinement of other British prisoners.

The absence of Zemindars in Mysore.

In former days there were at least seventeen Polegars or Zemindars in Mysore. Hyder and his son expelled them all, leaving no one between the sovereign and the cultivator of the soil. On the restoration of the Hindu dynasty the Zemindars applied to the Dewan Purniah to be reinstated, but Col. Close opposed their claims and gained his point. Mysore exists therefore without any Zemindars except the Jaghirdar of Yelandur. (Yelandur was granted as a hereditary Jaghir to the Dewan Purniah on his retirement and the property is still owned by his descendants.)

REMARKS ON Mr. CAMPBELL'S PAPER*

BY SARDAR M. KANTARAJ URS, B.A., C.S.I.

YOU have all heard, I am sure, as I have done, with great interest, the able lecture to which Mr. Campbell has treated us this evening.

The subject, he has so ably handled, is one of perennial interest, especially to us, Mysoreans. It is a well-known fact that Seringapatam was bound up with the fortunes of the Mysore dynasty for centuries past. There seems to be a popular belief that Seringapatam was a bequest from the Viceroy of the Vijayanagar dynasty. The facts, however, are otherwise. It was the battle of Kesaré that transferred the dominion over this island-fortress to the Mysore Rajas, during the reign of Raja Wodeyar. The conquest marks an important epoch in Mysore history. The century and a half that followed this great event witnessed the expansion of Mysore, as a result of the heroic deeds and high statesmanship of its rulers.

The Mahomedan episode in Mysore history, of which so graphic a picture has been presented to us by the learned lecturer, carries its own moral with it. I should like, however, by way of supplementing Mr. Campbell's

* On the occasion of his taking the chair at the lecture.

remarks, just to refer to a few incidents, which may serve to throw some side-light on certain aspects of Tippu Sultan's life and character.

Mr. Campbell has referred to Tippu's throne and given us a fine description of it. The Sultan's father, Nabob Hyder Ali, who, throughout his life, never forgot his allegiance to the Maharaja of Mysore, never aspired to possess one. The throne was a howdah mounted upon a tiger covered with sheet of gold; the ascent to it was by silver steps gilt. It was valued at about 60,000 pagodas. The construction of the throne began about the period of Tippu's expedition against the Nairs in 1788 A.D. A little before his march against the Raja of Travancore in 1789, he issued a proclamation throughout his territories that as he intended to ascend the throne, all persons who wished to get married might repair to Seringapatam and that they would have their marriage expenses defrayed by his Government. This was obviously a ruse to attract Hindus for the purpose of conversion. When the real object of the Sultan leaked out, people who had flocked into the capital beat a hasty retreat, not being prepared to give up their religion for the sake of matrimony. Suffering defeat in the Travancore lines, Tippu abandoned the idea of ascending the throne and is said to have made a vow not to use it until he had recovered the provinces ceded to the English by the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792.

Tippu felt much humiliated by the terms of that treaty. Among those, whom on mere suspicion he threw into prison in Seringapatam on that occasion was the famous general Badami Bhistopant, who had rendered eminent services to his father and to himself. The ill-fated prisoners used to be called out by batches at night and beheaded. On hearing that his turn had come, Bhistopant stabbed himself. Remorse overtook the Sultan, who at once ordered steps to be taken to have him attended to carefully. On his recovery, the Sultan restored him to the high military position he had held formerly.

The hall or chamber of Tippu's palace, where his throne stood, was a kind of colonnade painted like the stripes of a tiger. Behind this, there was a small apartment used as his bedroom, where on each side of the door, which was made of thick and hard wood, there was a window latticed with strong iron bars and the cot or bed was also of hard wood frame work with short silver legs but suspended by four corners from the ceiling, so as to hang about ten inches from the ground, in order to prevent snakes, rats and the like from getting on to it.

Maharaja Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyar who ruled over Mysore so gloriously and long, added to his already extensive library a substantial collection of historical documents. The Sultan in removing the members of

the then ruling family from the palace, intended to destroy the building altogether and had given orders for the purpose, which were, however, afterwards not fully carried out. It was reported to him that several large apartments were full of books chiefly of palm-leaf and *kadathams* and orders were sought about their disposal. He peremptorily ordered their transfer to the royal stables as fuel to boil kulthi, and this was done. A small miscellaneous collection, however, is said to have fortunately escaped destruction, owing to the trick of a clever Brahman who represented that the apartment wherein the collection was might be respected as it contained the Penātes of the family. It is learnt that this room was opened in the confusion that ensued upon the stirring events of May 4th 1799 and a large portion of the contents luckily fell into the hands of a British officer. This must have been the collection that is reported to have found its way ultimately to Fort William.

Tippu hated corruption, but was hardly successful in putting it down. About June 1794-5, however, he summons all his thirty-seven Asofs of Tukdies—district officers—with their sheristedars and talukdars to the capital, and met them along with the officers of the eighteen kacheries at the Headquarters, in the Lal Bagh, otherwise known as the Sringāra Thota, and exacted promises from them not to receive bribes—some swearing on boiled rice and milk, the Mahomedans on their sacred Koran and the Brahmins on their sacred Ramayana.

It was part of the Sultan's policy to make Mysore as self-contained as local conditions and resources permitted. In this connection, it is worthy of remark that he started a stud farm also. He thus anticipated in a way the Swadeshi movement of to-day by a century.

According to his notion of hygiene and sanitation, people were prohibited from rearing poultry and keeping donkeys in the city and using tamarind and chillies in their cooking. The dhobies had places assigned to them outside the city limits.

On one occasion, when hundreds of turbulent people instigated by selfish individuals, began to collect in cootams (rowdy mobs) and march towards the capital, the tact of his able Asof, Mekhri, saved the situation. Tippu adopted vigorous measures and had the ringleaders known as Bhūmi Reddy and Ākāsa Reddy arrested and hanged; and as a warning against a repetition of similar occurrences the Sultan ordered the levy of a punitive tax known as Bhumi Reddy Kanike, as part of the land dues. This is said to have continued till the days of the British administration whereupon it was abolished.

Unlike his father Nabob Hyder Ali Khan, Tippu was a man of letters; but he was no match for the Nabob in his military genius, diplomacy and

vigour of civil administration. The Sultan was whimsical and cruel; he invented his own names for places and the several years of the Hindu cycle and months. According to him, the present cycle year *Siddharti*, would be known as Barish and the next year *Rowdri* as Rastād. The names, however, have never become popular.

The restoration of Mysore to His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishna Raja Wodeyar III in 1799 is an event of great significance in Mysore history, redounding greatly to the credit of the British nation. This brilliant success of the British arms and diplomacy heralded a series of glorious achievements under the British flag in the East. As a centenary memorial of this great event, the Government of Mysore raised in 1899 a monument on the south-western angle of the Fort in Seringapatam.

It may be interesting to know that the year Siddharti to which 1799 A. D. corresponded, has now come round a second time. Thus an interval of 120 years has since elapsed. It is said by those proficient in the science of the stars, that this period of 120 years constitutes a unit of time, involving one full cycle of the revolutions of each of the planets of the solar system. Most of you, perhaps, are aware that the commemoration of this event took the shape of a public lecture at Mysore by Mr. B. Ramakrishna Row, retired Palace Controller, whose vast and intimate knowledge of Mysore history is so well-known. You will perhaps allow me to express our indebtedness to Mr. Campbell for having enabled us here, also, to participate in the celebration of this great event, by the delivery of his most interesting and informing lecture, to which we have all just listened so absorbingly.

It only remains now for me to convey, on your behalf, as well as mine, our best thanks to him, as also to the Rev. Father Tabard for having so thoughtfully arranged for this lecture.

MAN-TIGERS

Some South Indian Beliefs

BY L. A. CAMMIADE ESQ.,

The Indian belief in men turning themselves into tigers in order to kill their enemies corresponds to the belief in werewolves that once existed in England and other countries. To those who do not pretend to understand witchcraft, it is somewhat of a puzzle to know why a sorcerer should ever be so foolhardy as to assume the form of an animal in order to attack a victim when he could more safely achieve his purpose from a distance by means of spells. It is nevertheless believed in all places where witchcraft is in vogue that wizards and witches when out for mischief do commonly take the form of some animal in spite of the risks of personal harm to which they are exposed while in animal form and of the greater calamity which they incur of detection by witch doctors. Perhaps their conduct may be attributed to their desire for personal revenge and to the feeling that biting and mauling a victim is far more satiating than the pricking of pins into his effigy. It is also perhaps considered safer for the wizard that the death of the victim should seem to be due to the attack of a wild or venomous beast than to a suspicious illness. Anyhow, belief in this form of sorcery is bound to decline along with the disappearance of wild beasts. Thus it happens that in southern India, belief in man-tigers is rapidly dying out in proportion to the destruction of forests and the extinction of the tiger as a village pest. It is only in the last haunts of the tiger among the mountains that any trace survives of the ancient myths about man-tigers. As will be seen later, even in those parts there are signs that the old stories are becoming confused and incoherent. I venture, therefore, as a matter of interest in folklore to note here two short stories concerning man-tigers that I heard in a village on the Palni Hills in the district of Madura. Incidentally the stories serve to throw light on the mentality of the people concerned.

The narrator of the first story was the village accountant, The audience, which was composed chiefly of men of standing in the village, did not seem to doubt his veracity in any way.

The story ran as follows:—(I have forgotten the names of the people and places named and have to substitute others.)

Some of you may have heard of old Karian who was headman of the

village of Chinnapatti. He had no sons and had an only daughter, a little girl. On his death bed he taught her some of the witchcraft of which he was an adept. One day while the girl was tending cattle on the hills with some boys of about her own age, she foolishly boasted of her powers and when the boys mocked her she undertook to transform herself into a tigress before their eyes. She first gave them a stone on which she pronounced incantations and told them that they were not to be afraid when she should appear before them in the form of a tigress but throw the stone at her whereupon she would return to her natural shape. She then went behind a bush and out sprang a tigress. The boys in terror dropped the stone and fled for their lives. The poor girl was in consequence unable to resume her human form. So, after a time, she wandered off into the forest. Not long afterwards my uncle was going in the early morning to the village of Perumpalam and when passing through the forest that lies in the way he suddenly heard the tinkling of bangles. He was curious to know what a woman could be doing in a lonely bit of forest like that and crept up cautiously to see. He had hardly gone a few yards when he espied through the trees a tigress sunning herself on a flat rock and lazily driving the flies from off her face. Then, to his amazement, he observed that the tigress wore bangles.

This story was at once capped by another. It was related by a visitor from a rather distant village. He said he had known a married woman in his village who was a witch and who had the power of transforming herself into a tigress. He gave her name as well as that of her husband and said that this woman fell out with another man of the village and that one day when the whole village was out beating the jungle for wild pig a tigress suddenly seized the man, whereupon a friend of his courageously hit the tigress a tremendous blow on the snout with his club which made the tigress let go the man and roll down a steep ravine. The injured man was carried back to the village and there they all saw the witch with her nose freshly bashed in.

The first story contains two points worth notice. The girl, it will be observed, was unable of herself to resume her true form; secondly, the girl retains her bangles in spite of her transformation. The first point is in contradiction to the ordinary belief that witches do not need the intervention of any one in order to resume their true shape. The second is in contradiction of the belief that when human beings transform themselves into animals or are so transformed by others all trace of their apparel disappears. I cannot venture to explain the origin of the first anomaly. It is certainly not one that has crept into the story in the course of time, for it is of the very essence of the story. It apparently relates to a system of magic where a

talisman is essential for purposes of witchcraft and where power is lost with the loss of the talisman.

The explanation of the second anomaly is rather interesting. It may be traced to an ancient detail attached to the myth regarding man-tigers which has apparently become quite forgotten in Southern India. Further north, in the Agency Tracts of the Godavari district where tigers are far more plentiful than on the Palnis and where the people are more primitive, the myth regarding man-tigers takes a form which renders quite intelligible how the girl after her transformation into a tigress came to retain her bangles while none of her other ornaments appeared or any of her clothing. I will state the actual circumstances under which the myth of the Agency Tracts came to my knowledge, as it will help to explain better the degeneration which the myth has undergone in the extreme south of the Peninsula.

A Government reward had to be offered for the destruction of a man-eater that had been killing a good many people in a remote tract of country in the far interior of the jungles of Chôdavaram. As tigers are common in those parts, it was necessary to insert in the reward notice as precise a description of the man-eater as circumstances would permit. This was not as difficult as it might at first seem. The tiger had been frequently seen by the jungle people, who knew tigers well enough to be able to furnish distinguishing particulars. Details regarding sex, age, size, colouration, markings and so on were soon forthcoming. Among other things it was said that the tiger left "a peculiar impression with his left hind foot." I asked if the tiger was lame. After a good deal of hesitation the informants said that the tiger in question was not a real tiger but a man under the form of a tiger. They explained that when a human being took the form of a tiger either a hand or a foot did not undergo transformation and that they had observed the impression of a man's left foot always accompanying the pug marks of the man-eater.

In the light of such a belief it would not be unreasonable to hold that bangles, anklets and rings should remain visible on the hand or foot that did not undergo transformation. It is probable, therefore, that the story told on the Palnis of the tigress with bangles dates back to a time when the people of the Palnis, like those of Chôdavaram, believed that through the merciful dispensation of Providence wizards and witches could not help betraying themselves to some extent when bent on evil.

This belief in a restriction on the powers of darkness is akin to the belief prevalent in Europe during the middle ages that the devil could not disguise his cloven hoofs when he assumed human form. It can only have been derived from a theology which holds that the wicked can give vent to

their malignity only to the extent permitted by an over-ruling and good God. If, as is not improbable, this belief has existed from pre-Christian times, it is so much to the credit of the religions that held by such a doctrine. And the more savage the people who held by it, the more food does it give for reflection to those who would prove the despicability of the religious conceptions of primitive people.

The gradual forgetting of the old legends concerning man-tigers that is now going on in the Tamil country may be further seen by the name of "incited tiger" (Tam: *evudal puli*) by which they are now called. The term implies that the wizard usually sets up a tiger to commit mischief for him. This notion is well in keeping with the ideas prevalent now-a-days among the Tamils regarding the powers of sorcerers and is certainly far more advanced than the notion of a sorcerer having to transform himself into a wild beast in order to work his evil purpose.

It would be of value if readers of this journal could collect other legends concerning man-tigers that may still linger in Mysore and in the Madras Presidency and would ascertain the names by which they are known in the several Dravidian languages. A search in the ancient literatures of these languages would also, in all probability, yield much unsuspected and interesting information on this subject.

I pass now to the story of the woman with the damaged nose. Its chief interest lies in the close similarity of its scenario with that of several legends that were prevalent in Europe down to almost recent times. As late as the year 1665 a unfortunate widow named Amy Duny was tried at Bury St. Edmunds in the country of Suffolk by the celebrated judge* Sir Mathew Hale on a charge of witchcraft. Among the things alleged against her it was deposed on oath, and believed by judge and jury, that she had been found one day in the house of one of the witnesses in the form of a toad and that on the advice of a witch doctor the toad had been seized and held head downwards over a fire whereupon the toad disappeared with a loud bang and when presently witnesses went to the witch's house they found her with her face recently scorched.

* For a detailed history of this case see 'THE SUFFOLK WITCHES' IN STATE TRIALS by H. L. Stephens.

THE NAVAYATS

An Account of their History and their Customs

BY ALEX. A. PAIS, B. A., LL. B.

(*A Paper read before the Mythic Society.*)

It was at a time when the country was under the sway of Muhammad bin Toglak, that we had another Muhammadan race landing on the ever-hospitable shores of India. India was then undergoing one of the bitter experiences in her history—her frontiers unguarded, her people oppressed, her worst elements let loose on the helpless masses, Indian armies ordered to march through the Himalayan passes to conquer China, never to return, the Capital transferred from Delhi to Deogiri and then re-transferred to Delhi, the millions who had taken refuge in jungles unable to pay taxes hunted down by the soldiery, and to crown all, copper coinage substituted for gold coinage and paper money made the currency of the land only to leave the treasury empty and to plunge the country into a complete chaos. Thus was the famed land governed. While the central authority was thus destroying itself, the many turbulent races that people India declared themselves independent. Southern India was bifurcated into two hostile camps, each under an adventurer. The land to the north of the Vindhya was split up into a number of principalities bitterly hostile and, ever warring with one another. It was a counterpart of that which was being acted in Italy in the latter part of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the daring Normans enlisted under one petty state against its neighbour. A most opportune time that for an enterprising people to play a prominent part in these endless wars. Fleeing from their homes for political and religious reasons, the Navayats found themselves in circumstances which their wildest imagination had not fancied. Soon after their advent in India they caught the spirit of the times, enrolled themselves under the banner of the various Indian princes, fought bravely in their ever-recurrent internecine wars, and soon rose to such eminence as to be recognised as the nobility of the land. One of them, of whom we know, succeeded in carving out a kingdom for himself, and established his rule so firmly as to withstand the very arms of the British for about half-a-century. This was Hyder Ali, the father of Tippu Sultan. The Navayats trace their descent from Nazarbin-Kanana, the progenitor of the Prophet's family, and as such, are held in great veneration by the

Muhammadan. They are also known as Quraishi, from Shaik-Quraishi, another of Nazar-bin-Kanana's names. Navayat is a general name given to three tribes, one of which descends from Fatimatuzzuhra herself, the youngest daughter of Muhammad by his first wife. (vide Tables Nos. 1—3.)

Historians are divided in their opinions as to how the three tribes came to be known by the general term Navayats. Several conflicting conjectures are put forth as the probable reasons for their appellation, but many of them do more credit to the imagination of the writer than to his historic research. The three chief theories given here may be considered nearer the truth as they are more or less borne out by historical facts.

- (1) Navayat. (Banu-people; Vayat—a place about nine miles from Bagdad.) The people of Vayat, where they had settled for a time.
- (2) Navayat. (Banu-people; Vayat—sailors) a sailor people. Navayats are constitutionally fine swimmers, a fact which stood them in good stead at a very critical period of their history which will be narrated hereafter.
- (3) Navayat. (Banu-people; Nayat—united), a united nation. In the early stage of their history they were notably united under one leader, though now they are scattered in different parts of India, obeying no common head.

Medina is the original home of the Navayats. Their relation to the Prophet's family gave them a special distinction in the eyes of the people. Apart from this, their inborn habits of steadily cultivating the land, the progressive tendencies of the higher classes of the tribe, specially in the matter of the cultivation of the sciences of the day, all tended to make them the foremost people in the Hedjaz Province. The Navayats, further, were a marvellously united people and were led by Sayyed Abdulla Vayat or Abdulla-nil-Vayat, a descendent of the Prophet and a man of supreme capabilities. He was thus able to make the Navayats a power in the land, whose opinions could not be neglected in matters touching the welfare of the people. At the time we speak of, Abdul Malik bin Marwan of the Bani Marwani dynasty was the king of Arabia and Hujjaj Bin Yusuff Sakfy, the Governor of the Hedjaz Province, the capital of which was Medina. Hujjaj is said to have been a man of a cruel and crafty temperament, and was wont to have every thing his own way. This naturally brought him into conflict with the man of the people, Sayyid Abdulla, who made a bold stand against the high-handed policy of the Governor and desired that he should conform to the wishes of the people as manifested in the *Munshoor*, a sort of parliament convened for political, religious

and social purposes, and that he, Sayyid Abdulla, should be given a seat in the inner circle that ruled the *Munshoor*. Hujjaj did not wish to have such a powerful man in the cabinet, which would have been a death blow to his mean intrigues. Finding that he could not parry the question any longer, he, on some public occasion, called Sayyid Abdulla an inexperienced, ignorant, despicable upstart, and to throw discredit on him, put him a set of questions of political intricacies. The leader was a deep student of history and of almost every question that pertained to the good of his people. With the consciousness of his own knowledge, he boldly gave his answers and pressing his advantage thus gained over his enemy, he asked him a few questions of his own. The governor found himself driven into a corner, but concealing his discomfiture under a pleasant exterior, he yielded. Sayyid Abdulla was given a seat in the Cabinet. Thenceforth, the *Munshoor* had a voice in the administration of the Province. But a man of Hujjaj's temperament would not take a defeat coolly. He secretly nursed his revenge. He knew that his strongest enemy was learning. At odd intervals, the learned men of the tribe, one by one, mysteriously disappeared. Unobtrusively, as it were, the taxes were increased and cleverly manœuvred so as to make them fall heavily on the Navayats. Sayyid Abdulla called a meeting of the elders of the tribes, and it was unanimously resolved to leave Medina in a body. The Navayats migrated from Medina in the 60th Hijra (about 682 A. D.) and settled at Vayat, on the suburbs of Bagdad. It is from this place (Vayat) that the tribes take their name. It is not known, however, whether all the tribes migrated from Medina at one and the same time. Some historians say that all the three tribes left Medina in the 60th Hijra, while others, including Nawab Aziz Jang Khan Bahadur, the author of the history of the Navayats, and the great historian Abu Jafar Tabri and Nawab Shanavaz Khan Samsamul Mulk, are of opinion that the first two tribes left their homes in the 60th Hijra and the third tribe in the 152nd Hijra (about 774 A. D.) in the reign of the Abbasid dynasty. However, it is certain, that the cause of migration was the political persecution of the Navayats.

In Vayat they lived in peace for some time, but it was not to last long. The governor of Bagdad, to whom Vayat belonged, was a Shiah and the Navayats were Sunnis. The governor wished to win over the Navayats to his religious persuasion. No amount of cajoling and favouritism could convert the Navayats. He then went to extremes. He persecuted them systematically and but for a handful of deserters, the Navayats as a whole, stood up for the faith of their fathers. They prayed to God and the Prophet to deliver them from this tyrant. Strange to say, Bagdad soon after was

visited by drought, famine and other calamities. The governor, conscience-stricken, believed that the Navayats were the cause of the plagues that visited the city, made peace with them and begged of them to pray again for the city's deliverance. It is said that, as they were an honest and law-abiding people and belonged to the Prophet's family, the Lord heard their prayers. The city once more enjoyed peace.

The governor thought himself a much-wronged man. He had delivered his people from a great peril at the expense of much self-humiliation, only to find himself practically dictated to by a stranger, the leader of the Navayats, for, during the recent visitation, these had risen high in the estimation of the people of Bagdad. They were held in great veneration, as being a people specially favoured by Heaven. In secret, therefore, he planned to get rid of them. One day, narrates the Muhammadan historian, Allamah Jelaludin Sewthy in *Kashful-ansah*, every Navayat was invited to a public dinner and at the same time asked to get an egg or two with him. When the Navayats arrived, they were asked to heap up the eggs in a corner. After dinner every guest had to take the particular egg he had brought and eat it up. It was not possible, however, to pick out from the heap the particular egg one had brought and when the governor enquired whether every one had got the particular egg he had brought, they replied in the affirmative, which was a lie. He publicly denounced them as liars, and as such, they were severely punished. The old persecution began, but when on bended knees they prayed to the Lord, the Lord heard them not. The only escape from the trouble was to flee from the country and so they did under their new leader Sayyid Abdul Rahiman Vayat, the son of Sayyid Abdullah Vayat. The whole tribe migrated once more and reached Basrah in 752 Hijra (about 1334 A.D). Hardly had they settled down here, when their leader died in 752 Hijra. Without a competent leader, they were like a flock without a shepherd. The sway of the governor of Bagdad extended also over Basrah and he pursued them even there. Once again they had to depart, and depart they did, despite terrible difficulties and privations. Ships were brought and every thing was in readiness for them to set sail for the hospitable shores of India. At the last moment, the emissaries of the persecuting governor of Bagdad arrived and forbade the pilot and the sailors to man the ships, deprived the ships of their rigging and sails, forced the Navayats and their families and servants to enter the ships and had the ships driven into mid-ocean. The poor people were helpless. One likes to draw a veil over the miseries these persecuted, homeless Navayats must have been suffering during this ill-fated voyage. The governor believed that the Navayats at the mercy of the winds and the waves would soon be at the

bottom of the deep, a prey to the fishes. The Navayats now showed their mettle. They made a superhuman struggle for life and for what they considered their greatest treasure—their wives, children and aged parents. They were the first swimmers and sailors of Arabia. Nothing daunted, though driven away from their course by winds and ocean currents, they pushed on and on. Some touched the shores of Persia, but the majority of the ships reached India. Some landed in Bombay, Goa, Bhatkal, Malabar and Madras. Thence they spread over Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Hyderabad, Javra, Gujerath, Delhi and other principal cities of India.

The Indian rajahs permitted them to settle in their kingdoms on the condition that they would not practise their religion openly and that they would adopt the Indian mode of dressing. Since then the absorption of the Hindu customs has been carried on to such an extent that, writes the historian Nawab Ajiz Jang Khan Bahadur, some of them are opposed to the very spirit of the Prophet's religion. The comparative religious and political freedom the Navayats enjoyed in India gave them again time to divert their energies into their various walks of life. Though the favourite theme of the Navayats was theology, philosophy and learned dissertations on the Qur'an, still we find among them able historians, wise ministers, successful doctors, intrepid warriors and enterprising traders and merchants. The plough was not neglected. We find among them great land-owners and jenmies. It is interesting to note that seventy-five per cent. of the population of Javra are Navayat tilling the soil.

Most of the Navayats are Sunnis; only a handful of them are Shiah, specially in Bagdad, as related heretofore. Of the Sunnis, a vast majority follow Imam Shaffi and a very small minority follow Imam Hanafi. These are known as the two chief schools of the Sunni Sect.

Their present dress hardly resembles the original Arab dress, though we now and then come across a few rare exceptions. It may perhaps be said that a faint resemblance to the Arab dress might be detected in the women's dress. This is due to the circumstances under which they settled down in the territories of the Indian rajahs. The women wear *saris* and *dhawanies* mostly, but there is a great divergence in the modes of dress among them. In the matter of dress the Navayat has adapted himself to the place, climes and surroundings in which he found himself. Women who have their husbands alive, dress in coloured saris, wear ornaments, specially nose-rings, ear-rings and bangles, while those who have lost their husbands wrap themselves up in white or black saris and rarely, if at all, attend marriages and such functions.

A great majority of the Navayats speak Urdu, while those in Bhatkal and Konkan speak Konkani—a twin-sister of Marathi with a very liberal admixture

of Arabic and Persian words and plenty of nasal twang. A few Navayats, who had settled in Kayilpatna, a village in Malabar, speak and write the Tamil language. Unlike the rest of the Navayat race, these are dark-skinned and observe customs quite different from them. Though originally they were of the same tribes as the Navayats, they have been so widely separated from the rest of their brethren, that they have even lost their original generic name of Navayats and are now known as Labbais. Some writers of repute consider them as the descendents of the lowest strata of the Navayat tribes, perhaps of slaves. It might be they are misled by the dark colour of the Labbais. As regards their origin, Colonel Wilks, the historian of Mysore, has the following : " About the end of the first century of the Hijra, or the early part of the eighth century A. D., Hijaj Ben Gusaff, Governor of Irak, a monster abhorred for his cruelties even among Musalmans, drove some persons of the house of Hashem to the desperate resolution of abandoning for ever their native country. Some of them landed on that part of the western coast of India called the Concan, the others to the eastward of Cape Comorin. The descendants of the former are Navaiyats, of the latter the Labbai, a name probably given to them by the natives from that Arabic particle (a modification of *labbaik*) corresponding with the English " Here I am," indicating attention on being spoken to (i.e., the response of the servant to the call of his master)." A further explanation of the name is that the Labbais were originally few in number, and were often oppressed by other Muhammadans and Hindus, to whom they cried *labbek* or 'we are your servants'. Another account says they are the descendants of the Arabs, who, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, came to India for trade. These Arabs were persecuted by the Moghuls, and they then returned to their country, leaving behind them their children born of Indian women. The word Labbai seems to be of recent origin, for, in the Tamil lexicons, this caste is usually known as Sonagan, i.e., a native of Sonagam (Arabia) and this name is common at the present day. Most of the Labbais are traders; some are engaged in weaving corah (sedge) mats; and others in diving at the pearls and chank fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar. Tamil is their home-speech and they have furnished some fair Tamil poets. In religion they are orthodox Musalmans. Their marriage ceremony, however, closely resembles that of the lower Hindu castes, the only difference being that the former cite passages from the Qur'an, and their females do not appear in public even during marriages.

A great deal of mystery centres in the marriage of a Navayat. None of the guests except the nearest relatives have an opportunity to see the bride on the wedding day. It often happens that the bride-groom is in a still worse

position, for, though he is the principal party concerned he does not know who the bride is and for whatever he does know about her he is indebted to others.*

The young man should be at least eighteen years of age and the young lady should have attained puberty to be eligible for marriage. This was the Arabic precept originally followed by Navayats before their advent into India. But soon after their arrival in India they fell in with the Hindu practice of early marriages. That is the reason why one observes the Arabic and the Hindu customs existing side by side among the Navayats. The Navayat has also taken a robust repugnance to widow-remarriage though in the early stage of the history of this community widow-remarriage was frequent.

A middle man is an essential factor in the marriage of a Navayat. After the preliminaries of the marriage are arranged by the middleman the heads of the families chiefly concerned meet at a convenient centre to have a consultation. It is usual for the young man to be present at this meeting. Here all matters pertaining to the marriage are discussed and the marriage-portion, to be settled on the bride, is arranged. Then invitations are sent to near relatives to meet at the bride's place for a more general exchange of views on the subject. At this meeting a day is fixed for announcing the engagement with all due formality.

Mangni Ceremony:—This latter day the engagement is made public and the preliminary arrangements are disclosed. Many a time on a mutual understanding of the parties chiefly affected the question of settlements is a bit exaggerated. After the formal announcement of the engagement the bride-groom's father hands over to the father of the bride a silver plate containing the following articles:—Betel leaves and betel nuts natural and artificial. The artificial leaves and nuts are made of gold and silver, some chief jewels and ashrafees or at least a ring. The presents are meant for the bride. The plate is passed round to the guests in turn. Each takes it in his or her hands, breathes a prayer over it and invokes Heaven's blessings on the newly engaged couple. This day the engagement is finally sanctified and it is next to impossible for either party to withdraw from it without grave detriment to their reputation. †

The Ashrafy is the heaviest item in the Navayat marriage. Nawab Gulam Ghauj Khan of Vallajah (Madras) evolved quite an original plan to get

* According to the Muslim doctrine the bride-groom is allowed personally to select his own bride and then inform the parents verbally or by means of a letter. The present Indian Muhammadan, however, does not follow this wise direction.

† The Calcutta Ashrafy is equal to £ 1-11-8 and its gold is better than the English standard gold by 5 sh. in the ounce. By the regulation of May 1793 it should weigh 190·894 grains Troy

round this pernicious social evil. During the marriage of his own children he presented in a silver tray natural betel leaves, betel nuts and Ashrafy not of gold but of sugar. It was a brilliant idea and now Ashrafy instead of causing an anxious thought to the Navayat sheds a halo of sweetness over the whole function.

After the tray has gone round, betel leaves are served to the guests. Next sweet-scented flowers are thrown on the guests. Attar and rose-water are sprinkled on all and a rich feast ends the Mangni (a petition or prayer for the marriage) ceremony.

Biviki Sehemic,—The Navayat marriage is spread over a whole month and sometimes beyond a month. At the bride's place, the function begins with a singular ceremony known as "*Biviki Sehemic*" i. e. the invocation of a noble lady. The lady represents Fatima Tuzuhra, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad. A select number of married ladies are invited. These should have married only once and should be persons of irreproachable character. If through some oversight there be any one whose character is not above reproach, she runs the fearful risk of being shown the door. Widows or often-married women are not invited to take part in this function. The ladies come neatly dressed in saris, after having taken a bath especially for the occasion. A room is decently laid out and the hostess invites each guest to take her seat. When they are all assembled, they all sit down. A few psalms are sung. A special preparation of sweets and that prepared in new pots is served. Between the psalms a piece of sweet-meat is eaten and Fatima Tuzuhra is invoked to bless the engaged couple.

Biviki Sehemic was first introduced by Ajodha Bai, the Rajput queen of Emperor Jehangir. Nur Jehan, it appears, was very jealous of the Rajput Queen who was reputed to be the most virtuous lady in the Emperor's palace. Nur Jehan was a talented lady and widely read, while Queen Ajodha Bai was not so highly accomplished. She was dubbed by Nurjehan '*Deccani*' a term to signify 'rude rustic.' This nickname, it is said, used to crop up at all times and in all places as if purely by accident. Ajodha Bai was teased in so many trifling things that her very life was made a burden to her. She nursed her revenge in the secret of her bosom and worked out a scheme that would effectively silence her tormentor and at the same time show the *Deccani* was not so stupid as she was made out to be. Her opportunity came and she took advantage of it. A wedding was announced in the Court circle. Ajodha Bai was selected to be the hostess. She drew up her programme and one of the items included in it was a novel function termed "*Biviki Sehemic*." Every lady in the royal court was curious to know what it was

like. When all the lady guests had assembled, Ajodha Bai was seen stationed at the door of a room decked in right royal splendour. Just as the hour struck for the opening of the door the musical voice of Ajodha Bai was heard to say, "Let honest wives and only those who have married once enter." There was a strange flutter which ended in Nur Jehan making a rather undignified exit. Emperor Jehangir was the second husband of Nur Jehan! Biviki Sehemic was gone through with great éclat that day. At night when the guests had departed, Nur Jehan paid a surprise visit to her co-Queen Ajodha Bai and complimented her on the talent she had displayed in paying off old scores. It is said since that day the two Queens became great friends. Such is the romantic origin of Biviki Sehemic.

At the bridegroom's house there is no special function to inaugurate the wedding festivities. A feast to the poor and then to the guests ushers in the great day to come.

Rathjuga.—Rathjuga is the next ceremony connected with a Navayat wedding. This lasts three days and may even be prolonged for over a month. At both the pandals every successive night feasting and singing are kept up until day-break. Ladies play an important part in prolonging this function owing to their aptitude for singing. It is mostly the nearest relatives that come and they may do so even uninvited.

Exchange of garments.—The wedding really commences with the exchange of garments between the parents of the young couple. The colour of the garments is a mixture of red and yellow. In some parts of India with the customary exchange of garments, a ring, jewels and other ornaments are sent. The young man and the young lady first take a bath and then put on the new garments. It is customary to invite close relatives for the function at which they are treated to a sumptuous dinner for three days—it might be prolonged to ten days—neither the bride nor the bridegroom is seen out of doors. The last day of seclusion, the bride takes an oil bath. She is then made to sit in the centre of the hall where the ladies form a circle round her and sing appropriate hymns. *Mendhi* (*Lawsonia inermis*) a reddish substance is then applied to the nails of the bride. This function over, some garlands of flowers, perfumes, betel leaves, betel nuts, cardamoms, cloves, Jaipatri (mace) and a portion of the *Mendhi* applied to the bride's nails are placed in a tray and taken in procession to the pandal of the bridegroom. It is usual to have tom toms and a band in attendance. The bridegroom goes through precisely the same ceremony as the bride and solemnly takes his seat in the middle of the pandal. The *Mendhi* brought from the bride's pandal is applied to his nails. Refreshments are served to the guests and a present consisting of betel leaves perfumes, jewels, Jaipatri (mace) cloves etc., from the

bridegroom is taken in procession to the bride's place. This custom is similar to what is observed among Turks and Persians.

Nuptials.—Invitations to relatives and friends are sent by the host for the nuptials. At about night-fall every one gets ready to take part in the Shabgust (procession at night) that starts from the pandal of the bridegroom. The bridegroom on a richly caparisoned white horse is conspicuous in the procession that starts at midnight with tom-tom and band, fireworks and other devices calculated to render the noise both varied and deafening. In the early hour of the morning the party is ushered into the pandal with unprecedented pomp. Refreshments are served to all. At the appointed hour the Kazi Saheb steps in and takes the place of honour between the host and the bridegroom. Two reliable men are selected as Vakils. They are to be the closest relatives of the bride, for, owing to strict Purdah system, none other is allowed to see her. Their duty is to interview the bride as to her desire to marry the particular young man. Four more gentlemen are selected to be witnesses, two on the bride's part and two on the bridegroom's. The Kazi Saheb asks the bridegroom if he is willing to take the young lady as his wife. The question is repeated thrice and the bridegroom having answered in the affirmative, the Vakils are commissioned to ask the same questions of the bride. The bride is usually seated behind a curtain near by—The Vakils go within the screen and the witnesses remain outside the screen to hear the question and the answer. In Bhatkal, the nuptials are blessed in the mosque but the bride remains at home and the Vakils bring her consent.

The Kazi Saheb then asks the bridegroom what amount of *Meher* he has decided to settle on his wife. This *Meher* is usually about 39 tolas of gold and is paid at the time of the nuptials or after the marriage. The wife is entitled to her *Meher* on her surviving her husband or when she is divorced. This over, the host solemnly hands over his daughter to the bridegroom. The Kazi Saheb then says prayers and the nuptials are blessed.

It is after this ceremony that the bridegroom is taken inside the house and sees his bride for the first time. Though the custom is against the young man seeing his *fiancée* before his marriage and it might go hard against the girl and her family if it is known he has done so—yet occasionally a short interview does take place on the sly. Despite the terrors of custom, human nature will at times have its way.

When the bridegroom comes inside, the ladies stand out of the way, but true to their nature, keep an eye on what is going on. He is conducted into the bride's room and is requested to take his seat by her side. Some children and either the hostess or the eldest lady in the family, not at all loth to be so honoured, sit near the couple. A beautifully embroidered silk veil,

richly adorned with pearls and diamonds covers the face of the bride. The lady present gently lifts the veil and the young couple are brought face to face for the first time. The bridegroom then presents his bride with a jewel which is religiously preserved by the bride like the wedding ring of the Christians. A copy of the Qur'an is next placed in the hands of the young husband. He reads a few psalms from the holy book while the young wife silently prays by herself. A dish of sugar candy is brought and the bridegroom takes a piece and places it in the mouth of his bride in token of his union with her for life.

The moment arrives for the wife to follow her husband. He stands up and a tray containing betel leaves, betel nuts, cardamums, cloves, mace and some ornament is placed in his hands by his mother-in-law. Then comes the time for parting between the mother and the daughter. After a few words of farewell and a plentiful shedding of tears the mother takes her daughter by the hand and hands her over to the bridegroom. She then requests him to take great care of her daughter. The bridegroom then actually lifts his bride in his arms and carries her to the front door. The bride and the bride-maids sit in a palanquin closed on all sides. The bridegroom mounts his steed and at about midnight the procession starts amidst general rejoicings, for the pandal of the bridegroom. At about daybreak the procession is welcomed withall oriental formalities at the latter pandal. The mother-in-law receives her daughter-in-law formally. Refreshments are served and a great deal of charity is distributed to the poor. A sumptuous dinner brings the day's festivities to a close. The bride remains at her new home for the night. The consumation of the marriage is known as *Khilwat*.

In Persia a different custom prevails. This is due to the Purdah system not being rigorously observed. After the nuptials are blessed by the Kazi Saheb, the bridegroom with his party leaves the bride's pandal without seeing his bride. The bride is made to lie on her bed and two or three ladies busy themselves decking her with ornaments. From the crown of her head to the tip of her toe she is adorned with a variety of jewels. After nightfall to the accompaniment of sky-rockets, lights and a band or two the bride is taken in procession to the bridegroom's pandal. Men walk in front and women behind. A similar procession starts from the other pandal to meet the bride's party. Half way the two processions stop and a lady bold and mischievous deputed for the purpose questions the father of the bridegroom what presents he has decided to settle on his daughter-in-law. He has to give a favourable reply, else the bride is not allowed to proceed further. The same question is repeated twice or three times and a similar reply is given.

When it is a few paces from the bridegroom's panda the lady enquires of the bridegroom's father whether he is prepared to gratify the heart's desire of his new daughter to have a good faithful servant for life. In answer to this question the bridegroom is formally dragged by his companions and his father takes him to the bride and says, "Salute your wife and lead her into your house". Once the bride is taken inside the house, she relinquishes her hand and escapes in the crowd while his mother chaperons her new daughter.

In Arabia too the Purdah system is not very rigid. The young man selects his own partner. He has to make his wishes known to his parents either personally or through a friend. If there is no objection on their part he marries the girl but should there be any he knows how to manage his affairs despite the wishes of his parents. The nuptials are blessed by the Kazi Saheb, a grand feast is given and the Navayat marriage in Arabia comes to a finish with very little of the show and circumstances attending similar events in India.

To proceed.—Next day the new couple is invited to the bride's house. To this function known as the Bazgust a few guests are invited. The third day the bride returns with her bridegroom to his house. She is given her *Jehaz* (Konkani-*Andan*) i. e., household furniture by her parents. Four days later the couple have to answer a fresh invitation back. As the young wife starts for her parent's house she receives a bangle (Konkani-*Kankan*) from her father-in-law which she has to wear above her elbow. They return the same day. The next morning they are invited again. The bride stays at her parent's place now continuously for forty days or seven days at least. Every morning the husband returns to his house and in the evening at about 7 or 8 a young man of a respectable family with the brother of the bride or any other close relative comes to the house of the bridegroom to invite him to a dinner. If this deputation consists of more men and is accompanied by plenty of torch lights it denotes the greater respectability of the parties. Dinner over, the bridegroom returns to his house. A similar invitation is extended to him again to pass the night with his bride. The last day of this period both the families meet at the bridegroom's house. A final feast is given in honour of the formal union of the two families. This day no formalities are observed. Every one is to conduct himself or herself as a member of one and the same family. They help one another to make the day's gathering a perfect success. This gives a finishing touch to the marriage festivities. The bride takes her place as the housewife. Her mother-in-law takes her round through the house, tells her what her new duties are and formally installs her as one of the family. She is told what

he tastes, prejudices and wants of her husband are and is taught to conduct herself accordingly. This last function continues for a week or so and then the guests depart one by one leaving the young house-wife thoroughly conversant with the duties of her new state of life. Yet the echo of this wedding lingers on for a year longer. Every Friday and every Muslim festival day the daughter and the son-in-law are invited home and though the custom prescribes that the daughter and the husband should be invited home on all Mahomaden feasts even after the first anniversary of the wedding day, it is not observed to the letter.

In Bhatkal, Murdeshwar, Manki, Valki and Baindur Navayats follow a different custom. After the marriage ceremonies are over, it is usual for the bride to remain at her father's house till she is the mother of one or two children. In such cases the husband is invited every day to his wife's place to pass his night there. Consequently the ceremonies that follow the actual wedding take place at the young lady's home.

The custom of constant invitations to and fro as mentioned above is found in many other communities in India. The family tie is so strong here that they cannot contemplate a sudden snapping of it with the coolness characteristic of people in Europe. This peculiar method is devised in order that the young lady may gradually get accustomed to see less of her old home and more of her new and become gradually used to her new surroundings.

Mother.—When the wife is about to become a mother for the first time custom prescribes certain ceremonies to be observed. A short time before the fourth month of pregnancy ladies are invited to come to the house. That day the prospective mother is decked with flowers. About the seventh month a general invitation is issued. Every one is expected to come in festive dress. The prospective mother is adorned with ornaments. A long veil of flowers is let down her head over her neck. The husband formally presents his faithful wife with a new sari, jewels and any other thing he likes. The ladies who are about to be mothers are specially invited for this occasion. These sit in a line with the prospective mother in the centre. The lady guests then draw near and into the folds of her sari drop seven sorts of flowers, seven kinds of fruits, seven varieties of vegetables, seven rupees or sovereigns and seven betel leaves. Then raising their eyes on high whisper the prayer "Like unto the fold of your sari be the child in your womb full of months," A procession next proceeds from her house to the house of her parents. It is usual to have a band playing during the procession. Here the guests are given a splendid reception. About the ninth month women are invited for a feast.

The birth of the child.—When the child is born, it is placed in the hands

of the Kazi Saheb who prays over it. The father draws near the priest and puts some sugar candy into the mouth of the priest. This custom is said to have originated in the year 570 Hijra.

On the sixth day after the birth of the child the paternal grandmother pays her official visit to her son's child. It is usual for her to give some presents to her daughter-in-law and to her grandchild.

On the sevenths day the child is given a shave. The hair is weighed against silver and gold and the whole thing is given to the barber as a present. If the child is a male, two goats are killed but if a girl only one and the meat is distributed to the poor. The original custom was to hand over the child to the poor that they might pray over the child at their leisure but this proceeding was found inconvenient and the distribution of meat instead was substituted. The guests are of course treated to a dinner this day.

On the eleventh day the child is given a name. Small parcels of sugar-candy (Konkany : Alvis) are distributed among relatives and friends as a formal announcement of the child's birth.

On the fortieth day the mother takes a bath. The child's paternal grandmother comes there with a cradle and baby's dresses. The next day the child is dressed and with all decorum placed in the cradle. The blessings of God Almighty, of the Prophet Muhammad and of the saintly ancestors of the family are invoked on the child that it may grow in grace and in wisdom.

On the first day of the sixth month the child is given a preparation of wheat-flour and milk. The anniversary of the birth day is kept up with a feast. When the child is four years, four months and four days old, it is dressed in new clothes. People are invited, The Kazi Saheb also comes and teaches the child to utter publicly the word "God". This is preliminary to the child's education which really commences in its sixth year. It is taught some truths taken from the Qur'an and from the Islamic Books before it is six years old. If the child is a girl, on her attaining the fifth year, her ears and nose are pierced to put rings in them. In this case the guests are mostly ladies.

Before the boy attains his twelfth year, he is circumcised. The event is kept up with a feast. The day the boy gets over his pain, he is given a bath and is taken to the mosque to pray. A dinner brings the function to a close.

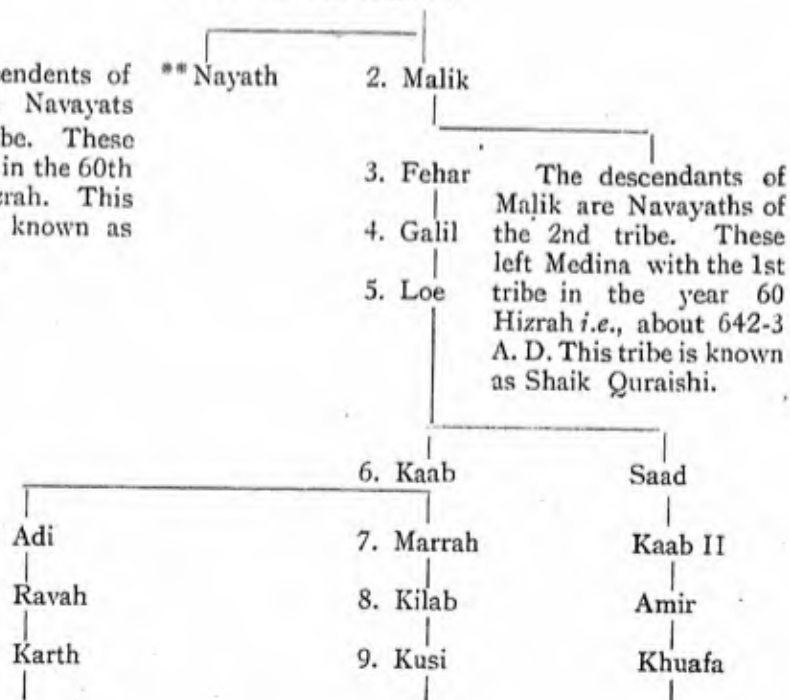
House-warming :—There is just one interesting custom that has to be chronicled—the house-warming ceremony. When a newly built house is ready, a day is set apart for its formal occupation. In the night at about 8 or 9 and at an auspicious moment a procession starts to the house. The

Kazi Saheb heads the procession with a lighted cocoanut oil-stand (Kan : ಚರಕೆ, ಸೊವೈ) in his hand. Behind him walks the owner of the house neatly dressed with a lighted cocoanut-oil hanging-lamp (Kan ; ಸೊವೈ.) After him come men walking in ranks of three or four abreast. A few paces come ladies headed by the mistress of the house. She carries in her hand a pot of milk. Her closest relative has a round pot (Kan : ಬುಡ್ಡು ಕೊ) full of chunam. Another relative carries a plate of betel leaves, betel nuts, Jaipatri, cloves and cardamums; a fourth lady a tray of flowers, a fifth lady a dish of sweets prepared at home. The procession slowly proceeds to the new house praying and singing. When they are all inside the house, the Kazi Saheb says a few prayers. The mistress of the house lights the fire in the kitchen. Milk is boiled and is allowed to run over into the fire. This is considered a good omen. This over, the Kazi Saheb and the men begin their prayers. They are pretty long. Then a dinner is served and the guests are given betel leaves to chew. They are next presented with flowers and perfumes. The house warming ceremony is in vogue in Bhatkal, Murdeshwar, Manki, Valki, Baidur, and other places.

Table No. 1.

1. NAZAR-BIN-KANANA

** The descendents of Nayath are Navayats of the 1st tribe. These left Medina in the 60th year of Hizrah. This tribe is also known as Banunnazar



Biyah
|
Alazi
|
Nafiel
|
Khattab
|
Omar
|
Hafsa

Hafsa is the fourth wife of the Prophet Muhammad. Omar is the 2nd Khalifa after the Prophet. He is the founder of Law Courts and the Munshoor a sort of primitive Parliament.

9. Kusi
|
Abdul-Uza
|
Asad
|
Kuvailad
|
*Khadija

*Khadija is the first wife of the Prophet.

10. Abdimanaf Abubakar
|
11. Hashim Aauisha
|
12. Abdul Muthalib Aauisha is the
| third wife of the
13. Abdulla Prophet Muham-
| mad. Abubakar
14. *Muhammad*, is the first Kha-
The Prophet lifa after the Pro-
 phet Muhammad.

10. Abdimanaf
|
Abdushans
|
Ummiah
|
Abilaus
|
Affan
|
*Usman

*Usman is the 3rd Khalifa after the Prophet.

11. Hashim

Asad II

*Ummi Fatima

*Umi Fathima is the mother of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet and the 4th Khalifa after the Prophet.

Vahab

*Amina

*Amina is the mother of the Prophet.

12. Abdul Muttalib

Ahitalib

*Ali

*Ali is the 4th Khalifa after the Prophet.

Abdulla

Muhammad the Prophet

Table No. 2.

The wives of Muhammad the Prophet with their children.

(1) Khadija (Vide table No. 1—9)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
s	s	s	d	d	d	d
Kassim	Yayyab	Tahir	Zainab	Ruquiah	Ummikulsoom	Fatima Tuzuhra

Sons 1, 2, 3 died when young.

4th daughter Zainab was married to Abilaasa, a general. No issue.

5th daughter Ruquiah was married to Usman the 3rd Khalifa. No issue.

6th daughter Ummikulsoom was married to Usman after the death of her sister Ruquiah. She had no issue.

7th daughter Fatima Tuzurah was married to Ali, the 4th Khalifa (see table No. 3.)

(2) Unmi Saudah, daughter of Zamah of Quaraish family. She had no children.

(3) Aaisha—Vide table No. 1—6. She had no children.

(4) Hafsa—Vide table No. 1—6. She had no children.

(5) Zainab, daughter of Khuzaima, a leader of Quraish family. He was a relative of the Prophet. She had no children.

(6) Ummi Salima, daughter of Abi Ummiah of Quraish family. She had no children.

(7) Ummi Zainab, daughter of Hajash. She was known among the Quraishis as the "Mother of Quraishis." She had no children.

(8) Juvairiah, daughter of Haris of the Quraish family. She had no children.

(9) Ummi Habibah, daughter of Abi Sufyan, a Quraish general. She had no children.

(10) Safya, daughter of Haiye. She had no children.

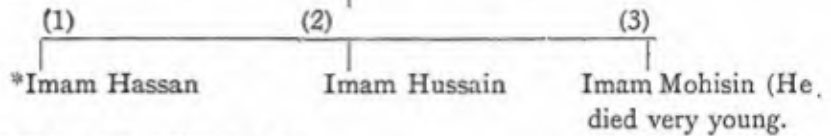
(11) Maimoonah, daughter of Harisulalahiyah, a famous Arabian. She had no children.

(12) Maryah of Kabtis Family. She was given as a present to the Prophet by Makooquis, the king of Alexandria. Such presents were considered the best ones during those days. She had one son Ibrahim, who died young.

Table No. 3.

14. PROPHET MUHAMMAD.

Fatima-tuzuhra married to Ali,



*Imam Hassan was poisoned by Yazid. His descendants are the Sayeds. No Navayat is found among his descendants.

(2)

Imam Hussain married to *Shaharbanu**

Imam-Zainul-a-bidien

Imam Baquar

Imam Jaffer Sadique

Sayed Mahomed

Sayed Abdulla of Vayath

Sayed Abdul Rahiman Vayathy

Emperors of Persia

Nawsherwan

Hurmoos

Kusroo Purwaiz

Shahriyar

Yazdijird

* *Shaharbanu*

Sayed Abdulla of Vayath was the leader of the Navayaths. He died at Vayath, a village near Bagdad. His son Sayed Abdulrahiman Vayathy was the last leader of the Navayaths. He died at Basrah in 752 Hizra or about 1344 A. D. His descendants are Sayeds belonging to the 3rd tribe of the Navayaths.

THE NOMADS IN INDIA—III

(A Study of Turkish Rule in India)

BY PROF. M. RATHNASWAMI, M.A.

(Concluded from the last Number.)

Family and Social Life.

Since all parts of life hold together, the features of one we shall find in another. Public and social life are developments of private life and conditioned by it. The state is after all a growth and extension of the family and the character of the social and political life of a country takes body and colour from the private life of the nation. The restlessness, incompleteness and crudeness of the public life of the Turks in India are to be found also in their homes. Their houses, as of all nomads, were resting places rather than homes. They were not the things of beauty and comfort that they are among more settled and more civilised peoples. Very few houses even of the mansubdars and Omrahs of the Great Mogul were built entirely of brick or stone, while the vast majority of the houses were very small, built of mud and thatched with straw. The interior of the houses even of the nobles corresponded in its simplicity and bareness to their external architecture. There were neither chairs nor tables nor separate rooms for the different uses of domestic life. The only furniture in the chief room was a cotton mattress over which a fine white cloth was spread during the hot weather and a silk carpet in the cold. Cushions scattered all about the floor of the room completed the appointments. Meals were served on a table cloth spread upon the floor. The same room served as living room by day and as bed room by night. The appointments of a mediaeval Muhammadan house were in fact the simple appointments of a tent, the original home of the nomad. In fact, the tent, the first living place of the nomad, has laid its impress even on his domestic life. Even in Mogul times the Omrahs and other noblemen used to spend a great part of the year, except the wet weather, in tents, moving them from place to place. The life of the Turks in India has always been the simple, picnic-like camp life that suits the wandering life of the nomad. They did not cumber themselves with the conveniences of civilisation. They were not used to sit on chairs but on the floor, on carpets, with pillows or cushions to lean on and ate not at a table but on the floor just as one would at a picnic. And the habit of men eating from one common plate or dish, however disagreeable to sophisticated tastes, was natural in the midst of the

equality and fraternity of nomads. The secluded zenana life of Muhammadan women may also be interpreted as a result of life in tents. When all the privacy that men could obtain was the insecure and incomplete privacy of the tent, it was only natural and necessary that woman should be covered and hidden as much as possible, her face veiled, and her corner in the tent screened from the rest of it by curtains or purdahs.

The influence of the tent hung over even the palaces of the Mogul Padshahs. The visitor to the palaces of the Great Mogul at Delhi, Agra or Fatehpur Sikri must be struck by the quaint simplicity of the rooms and of their appointments. One room like another, the private apartments of the same nature, if not of the same dimensions and magnificence as the public halls, the rooms like the courtyards but for the roofs over the former, and the fountains in the latter—one wonders what kind of homes these were in which the Mogul Padshahs lived, and what kind of privacy they could have obtained in them. The furniture was composed of the divan, and the pillows and cushions of the nomad's tent, only more costly. Their durbar halls, with their flat ceilings, their pole-like pillars and their arches which look like hangings in stone or marble, resemble nothing so much as that ceremonial tent the shamiana. The throne of the Padshah was not strictly speaking a throne but a settee or sofa in stone or marble, on which the Padshah squatted or reposed. In the Agra palace there is a huge stone bath placed plump in the middle of a public courtyard and open to the sky, in which the Padshah is said to have performed his ablutions—as one might under the fly of a tent. The Gosal Khanaah was also the room of private audience. The bathrooms that we find in the palaces were probably meant only for the elaborate Turkish bath. The only rooms which seem to have enjoyed any privacy were the apartments of the women. The amount of open space in the shape of courtyards and quadrangles makes us wonder whether after all the rooms were not mere appendages to them. As in the inner appointments and build of the rooms the simplicity of the tent was imitated, so in the arrangement of the various buildings within the palace the dispositions of a camp may be detected. The camp bazaars intruded into the palaces at Agra or Delhi. Shamianas and tents were pitched in various parts of the palace precincts for the accommodation of nobles and officials. The very stables at Fatehpur Sikri are placed in the palace itself and form its largest quadrangle. In outward appearance as well as in internal arrangements the palaces of the Moguls are tents or camps in stone.

Not only in the external arrangement but in the internal government of the Mogul's dwelling place were the insecurity and confusion of the nomadic life in tents illustrated. The women indeed were kept in the strait path of

virtue by the surveillance of eunuchs. But the rest of the house seems to have got on somehow. One of the strangest features of Turkish domestic life was the haphazard way in which children were brought up. Parents seemed to conduct themselves towards their children on the hypothesis that it was impossible and useless for them to try to form the character of their children. Mahmud of Ghazni's surprising opinion that sons are not worth the parent's finger and that if on the contrary any son should be found who was worth the parent's care he would be one of the marvels and wonders of the time was at least the silent conviction of many of the Turkish Sultans. Very few of them placed any trust in their children. The education that they imparted to them was mainly military and literary instruction. Even the best of them would not subject their son's characters to the beneficial influences of discipline. Akbar resented the adverse reports sent by Abul Fazal against his son Salim and punished the honest tutor by relieving him of his offices and honours.

From the houses, the influence of the tent and the camp spread to the towns and cities of the Turks. Delhi and Agra when Bernier visited them looked like camps, only their lodgings and accommodations were not a little superior to those found in the camps of armies. The fort at one end with the Sultan's palace in it and commanding the rest of the city, two principal streets crossing each other in front of the palace, in one of which was placed the city bazaar, the Jama Masjid the chief mosque of the city—these were the principal features of either capital of the Moguls. Another important centre of the life of the city was that place so necessary to the wandering nomad, the Sarai, half hotel, half warehouse, and a meeting place for the merchants and traders brought by the lure of gain to the capital. But besides these public buildings and the houses of a few nobles, the greater cities of Mogul India were very mean places. In Agra, Delhi, Burhanpur, Ajmere, the houses of others than the Sultan and the wealthiest nobles were built of mud or clay not one as large as a cottage in the Hounslow Heath of Sir T. Roe's time.

In towns and cities the social instincts of man are given a scope which they do not get in the country side. But it is found that the simpler the society the less opportunities there are for realising them. Nomadic society is indeed held together by the love of an artless freedom and by an equality of wealth or rather of poverty; but it is too simple to give birth to those institutions which give body and strength to the sociability of man. And how little an idea unrealised in institutions can help to preserve the unity or enliven the social life of a people is shown by the frail bond of union that held Muhammadan society and by the dull monotony of the lives led by the

Muhammadans in mediaeval India. The unity of Muhammadan society was founded on the equality preached by Islam and on the reminiscences of its ancient history in the plains of Central Asia. But it was brought home to the Muhammadans and translated into practice only on a few, more or less formal occasions, at prayers in the mosque, at the feasts or banquets on the occasion of marriages, and at the none too frequent religious festivals of Islam. The unity and solidarity of the people were not instilled into them and did not become part of their very lives, because they were not presented to them in concrete institutions, like the guilds and mysteries of the middle ages. It was a frail thread that kept the Muhammadans in India together. Although the Shiite heresy did not obtain a stronghold in northern India as it did in the Dekhan., yet there were dissensions among the Sunnis themselves. The Afghan, the Mogul, the Deccani, the Persian, the Gujarat Muhammadans were jealous of one another and found it difficult to coalesce with one another. The caste system of the Hindus laid its hands even upon the Muhammadans. When Manucci visited India he found that Pathans would not intermarry with Moguls. And Akbar, prompted probably by the instinct of self-preservation, is said to have bequeathed to his descendants the policy that Pathans should not be appointed governors, and should not receive more than 4,00,000 rupees a year, and should be employed only as soldiers. Not the least of the causes of the impermanence and vicissitudes of so many of the Muhammadan dynasties was the lack of a practical and real solidarity among the classes of Muhammadan Society. The Afghan Khiljis overthrew the Slave dynasty of Turks. The Arab Sayids of the 15th century had to give way before an Afghan family the Lodis, and the Lodis, unsupported by other Afghans, were overthrown by Babar and his Moguls. Sher Shah the greatest of the Afghan, if not the greatest of all the Moslem rulers of India, had to fight an uphill fight against the enmity of the Lohani Afghans and the Moguls. The unity of Muhammadan society did not go far enough and deep enough. It was too simple to last long. The real union of a society or of a polity is the union of complexities, not the union of simplicity which goes down like a house of cards before the shock of a breath of wind.

Industry and Commerce.

It would hardly be fair to expect much industrial activity among the Turkish ruling race. The business of war and government absorbed the lives of most of them. And for the rest the limitations of nomadic society were a permanent bar to their cultivation of industries. Muhammadan society had not that division of classes and of labour which is so necessary for industrial progress. It had not even the iron-bound organisation which in a neighbouring

society and a surrounding civilisation made some industrial activity, albeit of a stereotyped nature, possible. Muhammadan society was too simple for industrial activity. The nomadic contempt for a settled and laborious life and the contempt of a military caste for manual labour also helped to the neglect of industry among Muhammadans. Most of the industries which made the manufactures of India famous in the markets of Mediaeval and Renaissance Europe were in the hands of the native Hindus. The muslins of Dacca, the shawls of Kashmir, the embroideries of Delhi and Agra were mostly made by Hindus. But even they had to fight against odds. The absolute despotism of the Delhi Sultans which gave individual property so precarious a tenure made industrial progress difficult if not impossible. The right to all property of the Delhi Padshah, and, when his power weakened of the provincial satraps, strangled agriculture and emasculated industry, Artisans and manufacturers were conspicuous by their absence at Delhi and Agra in the time of the Great Mogul. The patronage of the Delhi court was a powerful incentive to industry but the very dependence of industries on the Mogul courts proved in the long run to be adisservice to them, because as soon as their only patron the Mogul court decayed they also were killed. The volume of industry depends on the continuous and wide-spread demand of the many, not on the concentrated demand of a few. It was not Lancashire or the East India Company so much as the decay and ruin of the Mogul courts that killed the Dacca muslins. There was however one industry in which the Muhammadans of those times excelled, and that was the carrying trade. But it was the non-Turkish Muhammadans that devoted themselves to it. The horses of Turkestan, the plums of Bokhara, the melons of Badakshan and the grapes of Kabul were brought to the Mogul cities, mainly by Afghan caravans. And the sea-borne trade of India with the West as well as with the Far East was in the hands of Arab traders before the Portuguese came to oust them from the seas. If in the market places of mediaeval Bruges, Augsburg or the Hansa towns or in the marts of Venice and Constantinople the silks, cottons, and pepper of India were to be found it was chiefly due to those intrepid nomads of the sea, the Arab sailors and traders of Turkish India. The life of the sailor and the carrier is so akin to that of the nomad that it is not surprising to see the Muhammadans of that period playing a large part in the naval and maritime activity of those times. The naval prowess of the Arab sailor was acknowledged in victory and in defeat by the pirates of the west coast as well by his supplanters the Portuguese. The patronage extended to sailors and traders by the Ahmedabad Sultans of

Gujarat justified their title of lords of the sea. Naval administration indeed formed an important branch of Akbar's government, but the naval actions of the Moguls were mostly river engagements. Aurungzib indeed was of opinion that the sea was no stage for the activity of his people. But even here in matters of commerce and trade we see the casualness of Turkish rule. While in theory a general commercial tolerance was preferred and firmans or permits to trade were given for the mere asking, in practice individual foreign traders had to bribe their way to markets and the right to buy and sell. The Delhi Sultans would not declare themselves either for a frankly downright barring and bolting against foreign traders or for a thorough going and practical freedom of trade which would be respected by governors as well as by subjects. Here again as in the rest of their administration they spent the days of their rule letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would."

Art.

No part of a people's activity springs more directly from its life than its art. And of all the arts that which is the most intimately connected with life and the most profoundly modified by it is architecture. As the late Mr. March Phillips said "Architecture is life's own art, that art which life pours itself into most freely, the art therefore which holds most life and from which most life can be extracted." If that is so and unless the architecture of a people is only the plaything of its idle hour, it must be so, one must expect to find in Moslem architecture in India a true and faithful expression of the thoughts and ideals of the men who built it or rather who caused it to be built. For it was Hindu masons and Hindu architects that built the mosques, the forts and the palaces of the Turkish rulers of Delhi. But though the hands that built were Hindu the minds that designed were Turkish. The strength, the finish, the success we owe to the Hindu. It is in the conception and the design that Moslem architecture was Turkish. And in judging this architecture we must lay stress on the idea and not on the way in which it was carried out. In its idea Moslem architecture bears the marks of the nomadic origin of the men who ordered it to be built. Here also the tent, that absolute necessary in the life of the nomad, has impressed its influence and given him most of his principal architectural ideas. The Moslem cupola seems to be a replica in stone of the peculiar Turkoman tent. In fact some of the domes of mosques or tombs in Turkestan bear out this resemblance much more faithfully than the finished bulbous ones of Mogul architecture. The shamiana, we said, was copied in the durbar hall of the palace of the Moguls. It has also been reproduced in their mosques. As the visitor to the famous Jama ucasjid at Delhi stands within its capacious quadrangle and turns his eyes towards the central part of the mosque, the place of prayer,

he is struck by the resemblance of the latter to a shamiana. The flat roof, the domes being just put upon it and serving a decorative rather than a constructional purpose, because instead of supporting the roof they are supported by it, the minarets corresponding to the corner poles, and its pillars within supporting the flat roof as if they were so many tent poles lead to that impression. And turning around the mosque he may be reminded of that other necessity of nomad life the *scrai*. The large square with covered arcaded sides seems to be a copy of the hostel to which the nomadic traveller wends his way with his camels and goods where he plumps them down in the middle and takes his rest. Apart from the influence of the tent, there are other features of nomadic primitiveness reproduced in Indian moslem architecture. The writings which spread themselves on the walls and arches of the Moslem buildings and which produce a grittish effect upon the feelings of the beholder resemble nothing so much as the scrawling of a child or of a vandal. The pierced Saracenic arches, seem to be, as Mr. March Phillips pointed out, matter on which the restlessness of the nomadic fancy has been allowed to play rather than subserving any real structural or architectural purpose. Those gay, laughing arches do not pretend to offer a resistance to the various thrusts and pressures which weigh upon them. Most of them instead of being supports to a wall or a roof are in fact supported by the latter. Instead of replacing lintels, these arches without shame stand under them. Therefore they could be as merry and as fantastic as the childish fancies of their builders could make them. It may be an impious sacrilege to criticise the Taj, but one may be allowed to question its architectural merits. In the Taj, as in most Mogul buildings we find recesses that are not recesses, pillars that do not support anything in particular, pavilions which it would require wings to get to, arches which are not arches, or arches within arches, and a glorious confusion between the Hindu and Moslem elements—in a word, decoration and ornament rather than architecture. The Taj may be a gem or jewel in marble, but it certainly is not great architecture. The impression that we get from looking at the great buildings of either the Moguls or the Pathans is one of vastness, wealth of ornament, and riot of decoration rather than of architectural harmony or beauty. They strike one as being the toys of a child or of a wealthy barbarian rather than expressions of great ideals in architecture.

Religion.

The Turkish invaders and rulers of India were in their civilisation nomadic, but by religion Muhammadan. And as religion exercises a great influence over the private and public life of people, it behoves us to examine and estimate the social and political influence of Islam upon its adherents who

were the rulers of India. The Qur'an is for all followers of Islam not only their sacred scriptures but their law books. And the influence of Islam upon the nomadic peoples who exchanged it for their natural religion, probably Shamanism, was decidedly beneficial. The unlimited concubinage of the nomad was restricted by Muhammad to a legal polygamy of only four wives. Marriage with slaves was prohibited and only a free woman could be a legal wife. Thus the emancipation of slaves had a powerful motive to quicken it. Private succession was introduced and regulated. The despotic claims of the nomadic ruler over private property were checked by the institution of the famous Wakfs which were religious or public endowments free from the sequestering hands of the civil ruler. The civil and criminal procedure which we find among Muhammadan peoples and the institution of special judicial officers like the Kazis were the temporal gifts of Islam to its converts. Private revenge and self help and club law, Islam attempted to replace by an organised judicial procedure and legal punishments. The political despotism of the supreme civil ruler was checked by certain powers of the spiritual Head, as by those of the Sheik-Ul-Islam in Turkey. The Qur'an familiarised its nomadic followers with superior legal ideas and practices, brought them into contact with other peoples and other civilisations, and helped to increase their material prosperity. It intensified, if it did not create, a feeling of equality among all its followers. The slave could not be treated as a mere chattel if he embraced the faith of his master. And many a Muhammadan slave has risen to empire in India, as in Egypt or Turkey. Almsgiving is one of the finest precepts enjoined by the Qur'an and Muhammad imparted to charity all the force of law. The fifth part of booty taken in wars of religion was set apart for the succour of the poor, the orphan and the traveller. The hospitals, caravanserais and schools strewed all over Muhammadan India were the fine fruits of Islam. War itself the most pervasive feature of the nomadic State was sanctified and purified by being given the conversion to Islam as its object. Military conquest was raised to the dignity of a religious propaganda. Even in actual warfare the usages of nomadic peoples were softened. War to the knife was restricted only to idolaters. Nor was Islam or death the only alternative offered by the conquering Muhammadan. The enemies of Islam were allowed one of three things: if they embraced the religion of the victor they were at once admitted to all the privileges of a Muhammadan; if they refused to be converted but agreed to be loyal subjects, they had to pay a tribute on which condition they were allowed the free use of their religion and their law; if they were, however, rash enough to tempt the luck of battle, the women and the children were made captives and the men taken with arms in their

hands were put to death. In almost every branch of life Islam has affected the nomadic peoples who were converted to it, and has exercised upon them nothing but a beneficial influence. But the impartial student of history, as he surveys the political and social services of Islam to its converts cannot help exclaiming: 'So much, and yet so little.' The changes which it introduced into the lives of the nomads were changes in degree rather than in kind. And being a religion of the Book it has stereotyped political and social practices which may have survived their time and generation and their temporal worth and utility, Islam no doubt bridled the concubinage of the nomad but it did not take the tremendous step from polygamy to monogamy. The numbing fatalism of the arid and monotonous life of the nomad has received all the force and sanctity of a religious dogma. The passion for war and the contempt for manual labour, especially agriculture, have not been modified by Islam. The fact of the matter seems to be that Islam although much superior to the bundle of beliefs and ideas which were the portion of the nomad and therefore of immense benefit to him did not differ from them in kind but only in degree. It was different, but not fundamentally different, from the natural religion of the nomad. It was therefore eminently suited to him. The tremendous success of Islam among nomadic peoples, compared with the relative failure of Buddhism or Christianity among them seems to point to this conclusion. The very success of Islam seems to reveal its limitations.

However that may be, the Turkish invaders and rulers of India, although Muhammadans to a man, seem to have been indifferent followers of Islam. They do not seem to have been imbued with that thorough-going belief in the tenets of Islam which distinguished the Arabs of history. It was perhaps because they had been converted not in the hey-day of Islamic expansion but in its middle-aged languor. But whatever the reason, the Turkish hold on Islam in India was slight. Practices and habits thoroughly opposed to the injunctions of Islam were popular among the Turkish rulers in India. The superstition of the surrounding Hindus took hold of them. Even the orthodox Aurungzib offered victims and hung written papers on the heads of elephants and horses for luck and invoked the aid of astrologers. Wine drinking was an ancestral habit which tyrannised over many a pious Muhammadan in Turkish India. Babar, indeed, is distinguished in history as a toper among kings and a king among toppers. But he was only one of many. Mahmud of Ghazni, Sabkatgin, Allaudin, Firozshah, Jahangir were as great bibblers as Babar. Even Akbar, as Mr. Vincent Smith emphasizes, was a great drinker of wine, allowed wine to be drunk by Muhammadans as a tonic or if prescribed by doctors, and even permitted a state public house to be established near his palace.

Many of the Turkish rulers were not only deficient in the practice of their religion but seemed to be lacking in belief in the very fundamentals of Islam. That sword-like formula "There is no God but Allah, and Mahmud is his prophet," did not always receive ready credence among the Sultans of Delhi. The deism and rationalism of Akbar have received a great deal of notice from historians. But as there were brave men before Agamemnon so there were on the Delhi masnad rationalistic and un-Islamic Padshahs before Akbar. He was not the first or the only Delhi Sultan to think of establishing a new creed. Allaudin anticipated him in that distinction. The Khilji Sultan was convinced that, if he was so inclined, he could with the help of four friends establish a new religion and on this subject he used to talk in his wine parties, and consult privately with his nobles, just as in later times Akbar used to do in the Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri. An anecdote related of Humayun shows him to have been an indifferent Muhammadan. As this emperor was once riding with his brother, they saw a dog defiling a Muhammadan tomb upon which the brother piously observed that the man buried there had been a notorious heretic. "Yes" replied Humayun "and the heart of a dog represents orthodoxy." According to C. T. Catron Humayun is said to have been found assisting at Hindu religious ceremonies and at worship of the sun. Akbar in his tolerant indifferentism was only reverting to type. In his orgy of religious worship he was only going back to the practices of his Mongol ancestors in whose palaces fetish-worshipping Shamanists, Buddhistic Bonzes Muhammadan imams and Nestorian priests tumbled over one another in ministering to the queer religious appetites of those children in emotions, the Khans of Tartary. Chengiz Khan was as tolerant as Akbar.

The Cult of Akbar.

If even in his attitude to religion, Akbar must share the palm of pre-eminence with others of his own race and creed, it is time, we think, he was shown his place in history. This does not mean that we are going to deny his greatness as a king or as a man. All that we contend for is that this greatness should be classified and defined. As the nomadic ruler of a nomadic State Akbar was great. He was great as Chengiz Khan was great. In nothing that he did, do we find him rise above the limitations of his race and civilisation. All his administrative reforms were only improvements to smoothen the working of machinery which he had inherited from his predecessors. In his much-beloved land reforms he only devised better means of collecting rents from the tenants of the State. He had neither the wisdom nor the courage to spurn out the theory of the State being the owner of all land and set up again the old Hindu theory of private property in land.

His settlements of newly conquered provinces were as precarious and as ineffective as those of others of his dynasty. His discovery that loyalty and discipline in the government could be effected by a system of marriages was as naive as it was useless. How then was Akbar great? Can he be said to be in a class apart from men like Sher Shah or Firoz Shah! He was greater than either of them only in the number and not in the nature of his successes. To compare him therefore with his great European contemporaries Elizabeth and Henry IV, as some historians have done, is to betray our ignorance of history and our inability to distinguish between civilisations.

But to define or classify Akbar's fame in history is not to explain it. How is it that he alone among the Delhi Sultans has been given the title of Great, in spite of the fact that there were men before him as great as he, and that he was nothing unique among them? If it is true, as we contend, that Akbar was not unique among the Muhammadan rulers of Hindustan, how are we to account for the historical tradition that has nourished through the centuries the flame of his reputation. Tradition, although it may exaggerate, seldom tells lies. If Akbar is not great why is he called the Great? Of this historical mystery, of this disproportion between his achievements and his fame we offer an explanation which may be only a part of the explanation. In the first place, Akbar has been very fortunate in his reporters. Enemy as well as friend has left us full accounts of him. While native chroniclers blazoned forth his deeds in India, European travellers and missionaries like Du Jarrie spread the fame of his reign in Europe. Especially in an age bleeding from the wounds of religious wars, the news of a king in the East noted for his toleration of all religions and sects must have created an impression of his general greatness and goodness as a man and as a king which in the course of time swelled into a tradition. Distance and superficial knowledge likened him to one of their own great sovereigns. And the philosophers of the 18th century in France disgusted with the religious tyranny of their own country must have turned with a sigh of relief and longing to the tale of a prince who unlike their own Louis XIV tolerated even atheism and unbelief. It has always been a literary tradition among Europeans to praise the tolerance and general statesmanship of Akbar at the expense of the other Delhi Sultans. For the present generation, of English speaking people one of the finest poems of Tennyson has strengthened and consecrated this tradition. And the latest biography of Akbar—where the dry-light of Mr. Vincent Smith's research beats with an almost blinding fierceness, in spite of much discounting of Akbar's character as a man, serves only to strengthen the impression of his unique greatness as a statesman. It is hoped that the facts brought into prominence by us will help to weaken

the strength of this unhistorical tradition. To reduce Akbar's fame to its proper proportions is required no less in justice to his great predecessors than in justice to himself. For it is to be feared that if this apotheosis of Akbar continues the inevitable reaction will set in, and a time may come when his greatness will be underestimated as it is certainly overestimated at the present moment. It is not that we are tired of hearing Aristides called the just, but we should like to be sure that he is just.

Conclusion.

The value of any society, religion or civilisation must be measured by its highest products. A tree must be judged by its fruits, that is by the best of them. To display the wickedness of the worst and explain away the virtues of the best is the conduct of a "hanging judge." A fair critic will judge the value of an institution by its highest achievements. We must judge the political value of Turkish rule in India by the successes of the greater Sultans of Delhi, not by the failures of the worst. And judging that rule by the work of men like Allaudin, Firoz Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar, and Aurungzib we must pronounce it to have been a failure. None of these men succeeded in bringing about what is absolutely essential to the existence of a State, a strong, stable government, guaranteeing the irreducible minimum rights of life and property. Much has been talked of the peace and stability of Akbar's reign. But what, as a matter of fact, do we find when we turn to the chronicles of his time? He wages a number of wars and expeditions. But to what do they lead? He conquers Gujarat and turns to Bengal and he finds that Gujarat revolts as soon as he turns his back on it. He makes the Rajahs of Khandesh and Berar his tributaries, but "their tribute was intermittent and their fealty barely nominal". Uday Singh, the Rana of Udepur, was defeated, but his son Pratap Singh for a quarter of a century kept Akbar at bay, and in the end after so much effort, the conquest of Rajputana had to be abandoned. He defeats Baz Bahadur of Malwa, and turns his attention to Jaunpur, but Baz Bahadur soon shows that he is very much alive and is restored to his rule, and Malwa has once more to be conquered. His conquests in the Dekhan and elsewhere had to be repeated all over again by his successors. It is not that we are finding fault with Akbar for not conquering the whole of India, or the whole of Northern India. We are blaming him for not organising the administration of whatever he conquered in such a manner that his successors would, by using his legacy as a base and by following his methods and rules, go on to conquer and organise further afield. There was nothing in his administration that contained principles, newer and better than those of his predecessors which would lay the foundations of a strong and stable government. His

political genius did not rise above the satrapial form of government. If he had conquered only what we might call the "home provinces" and given them the benefit of a strong, insistent, centralised administration with strong and efficient central courts and bureaux, his title to fame would be much greater than even his eulogists have dreamt of. But he was satisfied with the vulgar, nomadic ambition of spreading himself on the map of India. He followed the line of least resistance, and the line of least resistance swallowed him and his successors. We are not comparing him, as some of his eulogists have, to Elizabeth or Henry IV. We would not compare him even to founders of polities like William the Conqueror or Stephen of Hungary. But surely, if his claim to the title of Great is to be made good, we have a right to compare him to at least statesmen of the class to which the latter belong and see how he bears the test. And we say Akbar cannot stand the test of even such a comparison. The wars waged by William the Conqueror and his successors had a definite result which is immeasurably superior to that achieved by Akbar or indeed by the whole line of Delhi Sultans. Other ages than the Muhammadan era in Indian history have been as full of wars. In the history of the Roman Republic the Temple of Janus was indeed rarely closed. But for these five hundred years or so of war there was something to show in the end—the political organisation of Italy and the majesty of Roman Law. Was anything similar achieved by Turkish rule in India?

The reader of the chronicles of Muhammadan rule, contained in the volumes of Elliott and Dowson, soon comes to weary of the wars and expeditions, invasions, and rebellions, that seem to form the staple of their story. It is only here and there, at very long intervals, as oases in the desert, that one comes upon some information about the government, or the laws, or the social life of the country. Historians have complained of this. But we question if they have a right to do so. After all the chroniclers or the annalists of a country cannot put into their chronicles or their annals more than they find. They cannot empty out of life more than is in it. War, as we saw, was the chief business of the nomadic Turks in India. And of war we get more than we can stomach in the native chronicles. But that is only what should have been expected. If it is true that a country gets the government it deserves, it can, with still greater truth, be said that a country gets the history it deserves.

What then are we to think of Turkish rule in India? Was it an episode of sound and fury signifying nothing? Was it only a frightful nightmare in the life of India? Was it a mere interval in the history of the country? Certainly not. Politically, indeed the Muhammadan period marked no progress—except perhaps for one great service. With regard to organisation and admi-

nistration of the State it was a failure—indeed, in many ways, it was a retrogression. The simple, primitive, casual administration of the nomadic tribe was an instrument of government which broke in the hands of the Turkish rulers when applied to the rule of a highly complex and civilised society like that of the Hindus. The Turks were strong to conquer but too weak to rule India. However, that would be a very unfair statement of their services to the country. These were of a high order and of the kind that India needed the most.

When the Muhammadans began their invasions of India, Hindu society was in a moribund condition. All political virtue seemed to have gone out of the Hindus. They had given up the idea of uniting all India under one strong imperial rule. They were settling themselves into small societies, distinct and rigidly separated from each other, indifferent to, when not warring against each other. Caste, the prohibition of foreign travel, the defeat of Buddhism, had thrown Hindu society into a torpor, begotten of self-sufficiency, and debarred it from that quickening intercourse with other peoples and other countries which has been one of the chief causes of the progress of the progressive nations of the world. India was awakened out of her slumber by the invasions of the Muhammadans. That great plan of the greatest of Hindu kings, the unification of India under one sceptre, was once more presented to the country as a possible, living ideal. It may be doubted whether the Muhammadans consciously set before themselves the ideal of uniting India under a common government. They were driven only by the lust of conquest. The subjugation of Badakshan and the ancestral homes of the Moguls was as important to Akbar as the conquest of the Dekhan. But the possibility of conquering the whole of India may be said to have come back into Indian politics with the Muhammadans. It is to the Muhammadans that Hindu society of the 17th century owes the recovery of the lost ideal of a united India. If under the Mahrattas, it was hoped, Hindu India would again be one, it must be remembered that this splendid reaction was due to the powerful and irritating impact of the Muhammadans upon Hindu society. The Mahrattas indeed failed to achieve their ideal, probably because they followed too closely the methods of conquest and of rule of those whom they wanted to displace. Another foreign race, another foreign rule was to achieve what the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas failed to attain. But that the ideal of an India united under a single rule was brought back into the practical politics of the 17th and 18th centuries was indeed the supreme political achievement of the Muhammadans.

Another great service that the Muhammedan conquests rendered India was that they brought it into active intercourse with the rest of the world,

India was once more brought out of her isolation. The Arab traders by sea, and the passes of the Afghan frontier kept open by the Turkish invasions brought India into intimate commercial and intellectual relations with the West and the Far East. Nomads are the colporteurs of civilisation. Like certain birds which carry seeds to and from countries separated by long distances and thus introduce plants into regions which did not know them before, so nomads have carried things and ideas from one distant country to another. In this way, however humble, they too have served the cause of civilisation and progress. Not only the silks and spices of the Far East, not only the cottons and precious stuffs and stones of India, but Indian learning and literature were carried to the west by Arab traders and travellers. The scientific lore of the Hindus—their algebra, their astronomy, their medicine, was probably thus introduced to Europe and must have served to quicken the scientific enquiry of the Middle Ages. The fables of the Panchatantra and the stories of the Arabian Nights, Lassen suggests, thus became the possession of Persians and afterwards of Europeans. The first traveller's tales of India came into Europe only after the Muhammadan invasions. The accounts of Arab travellers like Sulaiman. Albiruni, Ibn Batuta led to the mediaeval "discovery" of India by the west. Not only towards the West did India spread out her intellectual conquests. It was through India, by way of India, that Islam spread to the Far East, to the Malay peninsula to Java and to the islands of the Archipelago. An era of new life and prosperity thus dawned upon those portions of the globe. India, thus, as a result of the Turkish invasions began to occupy once more her rightful position as the centre of intercourse, as the intermediary between the West and the Far East. India at last obtained her *Weltstellung*, her place in the world.

India not only gave, but she also received. With the coming of Islam, the principle of Monotheism came to have a place in the philosophic and religious enquiry of the country. Apart from the conversion to Islam, Hinduism itself felt a theistic impulse which had not been felt before. There had been theistic movements in Hinduism itself before Islam came into the country, but as Dr. Macnicol suggests "a new stringency, a new vigour and a more decidedly ethical outlook" has been imparted to Indian theism by the Mahomedan influence. To have given India a Kabir and a Nanak is perhaps the greatest service that Islam rendered to India. To have given the movement against caste, begun by Buddhism, but almost spent at the advent of the Muhammadans, the support of a militant and virile religion, is to have given India social service of the highest value. To have taught India that there is another way of looking at God and the world than the way of Pantheism, is the crowning

glory of Islam in this country.

Such are the great and real results of the Turkish rule in India. Their importance, and we freely acknowledge them to be of the highest importance, should not make us blind to its political shortcomings. These latter, it has been the burden of this essay, were of the gravest character. But we shall not blame Turkish rule for them. Turkish rule in India, to some extent, could not help its defects. Let us remember that the Turks when they came to India, were in all essential features, nomads and continued to be so throughout the period of their rule. It would be an interesting question to enquire why the Muhammadan invaders of India, unlike the Aryan invaders who also were mainly pastoral, did not settle into the habits of a settled, agricultural people. It may be that the Muhammadans found ready to their hands a numerous subject population who could work for them and minister to their luxuries. They were not compelled to live by the sweat of their brow. It may be the Qur'an stereotyped many of their racial habits. Whatever the reason, the Turks as a matter of fact were not able to divest themselves of their nomadic character. The rulers of India were nomads—that is the true orientation of the "Muhammadan" period of Indian history. Looked at from that point of view everything in the history of that period falls into its place. With this key in our hands, we have a clue to the understanding of so many things—the futility of so much war, the ease in conquest, the loose administration, the cavalier attitude of the rulers to Law and Land, the political curiosities that abound, the peculiarity of Muhammadan architecture, the simplicity of Muhammadan social life. We would then not expect from Turkish rule what it could not impart. To give a civilised society the benefits of strong government is not the work of nomads. Their mission is rather to fan moribund societies into life, to galvanise them into action, to make them, so to speak, examine their consciences, and to give them an opportunity and incentive to set their houses in order. And that work for Hindu society, the Muhammadan rule succeeded in accomplishing. It will not do for us to set up an ideal, which the Turkish rulers would not have understood, and fill ourselves with righteous indignation because they failed to reach that ideal. Procrustes, if he had been a historian, might have acted in this manner. We must take the Turks as we find them. For the way in which they did work which their hands could do, History may or may not offer them a tribute of praise. But it will certainly not condemn them, because they did not build better than they knew.

THE DATE OF KALIDASA

(Specially written for the Q. J. Myth. S.)

BY DHANAPATHI BANERJI ESQ., M. A., B. L.

THERE is much controversy regarding the time when Kālidāsa lived and the king under whom he flourished. Indeed, the variety and multiplicity of theories put forward have led many to doubt whether it is worth spending much energy on the investigation. The question is, however, of great importance, as it is a landmark in the chronology of Sanskrit literature. Allusions and references to Kālidāsa and his writings in Sanskrit literature,—in the Purāṇas and the Alaṅkāra-śāstras, are considerable, and if we settle the date of Kālidāsa, we can find out the dates and bearings of many Sanskrit works. Moreover, the fixation of the time of Kālidāsa can settle that of Vikramāditya, under whom he flourished, and hence the subject is highly important. Three principal theories have been advanced by different scholars regarding the time when the poet flourished.

- 1st. Kālidāsa lived in the first century B. C., the time of the first Vikramāditya who flourished in Ujjain or Avanti. The reign of this king is the starting point of the Samvat Era.
- 2nd. Kālidāsa flourished during the reign of Chandragupta II. the son of Samudragupta, and the most important monarch of the Gupta dynasty in Magadha in the beginning of the fifth century A. D. or a little earlier.
- 3rd. Kālidāsa lived about the middle of the sixth century A. D. The king of Ujjain who styled himself Vikramāditya conquered the Sakas and, in commemoration of the conquest, started the Samvat Era which he antedated by 600 years. Thus the Samvat Era is calculated from 57 B. C. though it was started in 543 A. D.

The last theory was first propounded by one of the greatest scholars, Prof. Max Muller, and could not at first be lightly shaken off; but subsequently, it was completely refuted. This Samvat era has been found to have been in use long before 543 A.D., and, therefore, the ingenious argument of antedating it by 600 years fell to the ground. The Mandasore inscriptions of Batsa Vatti are dated about the fifth century A.D. These refer to Vikrama Era as the Mālava Era. The slokas of Batsa Vatti, to which I shall refer later on in detail, show distinct traces of having been borrowed from the *Meghadūta* and *Ritusamhāra*. Now, if in the fifth century A.D., we find a

poet strongly influenced by the writings of Kālidāsa, there cannot be any doubt that the latter lived previous to that period.

We now come to the *second theory* which appears to be generally adopted by the western scholars. Prof. Macdonell places Kālidāsa barely a century before Batsa Vatti, the writer of the Mandasore inscriptions. It is stated that Kālidāsa flourished in Magadha during the reign of Chandragupta II. of the Gupta dynasty, who styled himself Vikramāditya. By accepting this theory, we have to accept the following *propositions* :—

- (1) Kālidāsa flourished at the Court of the Magadha King of the Gupta dynasty 373-413 A. D.
- (2) He lived long after i. e. about 300 years after king Sālivāhana whose reign is now accepted to have commenced from 78 A. D.
- (3) That the whole of the traditions about Vikramāditya I and the later historical writings must be altogether discarded as being absolutely without any foundation.
- (4) Kālidāsa must have lived long after Asvaghosha, the author of the *Buddha-charita*, who flourished in the time of Kanishka, first century A. D., and also long after the Śuṅga kings.

It is clear that if the *third theory* is refuted by the fact of the Mandasore inscriptions being influenced by the writings of Kālidāsa, and the *second theory* by the falsity of all or any of the aforesaid propositions, *the only theory left is the first* which is corroborated by traditions not supported by the western savants.

Before dwelling on the second theory, some preliminary remarks are necessary to remove certain confusions. It is admitted on all hands that Kālidāsa flourished after the second century B.C. Agnimitra, the hero of one of his dramas, is an historical character. He was the son of Pushpa Mitra Pushya Mitra who dispossessed the Buddhist king of the throne of Magadha.

The latest time-limit is the time of king Harsha Vardhana and his court-poet Bānabhatta. The visit of the Chinese traveller Hi and his records have saved this king from the fate which overtook the patron of Kālidāsa. Harsha Vardhana lived and flourished in the first half of the 7th century A.D., and Bānabhatta in the introduction to his *Harsha-charita* has given a synopsis of Sanskrit literature, and described Kālidāsa as a classical writer. From this, it is clear that Kālidāsa cannot be earlier than the 2nd century B.C., or later than the 6th century A.D.

As we shall see presently, the internal evidence against the second theory, especially against the first proposition noted above is so strong that Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara-prasād Sāstrī in an able article (*J. BB. R. A. S.*) was compelled to reject the second theory and put forward another closely

analogous to the third. He has tried to explain away the Mandasore inscriptions and put forward the suggestion that Bhâravî preceded Kâlidâsa. He is inclined to put Kâlidâsa as late as possible by making him a court-bard of Yasodharmadeva Dharma Vardhana about the middle of the 6th century A.D. The theory does not appear to be sound in view of the fact that Kâlidâsa was already a classical poet when Bâna Bhaṭṭa wrote his *Harsha-charita* and described his writings as *Kâlidâsasya suktishu* and therefore a long time is likely to have elapsed before Kâlidâsa could have acquired a classical reputation. The only way of disseminating literature in those days was either recitation from memory or by the circulation and distribution of manuscript-copies executed by Paṇḍits and admirers. A poet could acquire a local reputation within a short time, but to be recognized universally as a great poet required a much longer period.

Let us now come to the *second theory* and examine it particularly with regard to the *first proposition* that Kâlidâsa was a court-poet of the Gupta king of Magadha. In Kâlidâsa's works, we find no direct reference either to himself or to his royal patron. From the time of Sâlivâhana onwards, we find poets and writers referring to themselves and to their patrons, and in works of later dates, we find references to patrons reduced to abject flatteries, and personal references gradually expanding into pompous self-adulations and genealogies of the authors. The omission in the writings of Kâlidâsa of this particular literary feature is significant. But though there is no direct reference, the indirect evidence which we get is very suggestive. In the *Raghuvamśa*, canto VI. we find a description of the kings assembled during the *Svayamvara* of Indumatî. No doubt, the poet is there describing kings as they may be supposed to have existed during Aja's time, but his descriptions were influenced by his times and surroundings. While describing the king of Avanti or Ujjain, the poet writes:—

अवन्तिनाथोऽयं मुदग्रबाहु विशाल वक्षस्तनुवृत्तमध्यः ।

आरोप्यचक्रं भ्रमिमुष्णतेजा त्वद्वेव यत्नोऽल्लितो विभ्राति ॥

The vivid description of the king of Avanti in this sloka suggests that Kâlidâsa flourished at the court of the king of Avanti. The conduct of Indumatî also is very suggestive. The story requires that the king of Avanti must be discarded by the heroine. But Kâlidâsa here goes out of the way to make out that Indumatî was too effeminate to appreciate his manly beauty. "*Kumudvatî bhânumatîva bhâvam*" (This suggestion which minimizes the manly powers of Aja is certainly out of place and must have been made from other considerations). The question is Who is this king of Avanti? The sloka itself answers the question. The first two lines indicate the manly strength and form of the king. That is *vikrama* in Sanskrit. The last two

lines indicate the king as being a statue as the Sun carved out by the Divine Sculptor himself i.e. *āditya* which is the same as *ushnātejah*. Putting the two ideas together, we get *Vikramāditya* as the name of the king hinted at in this sloka. From this, we find two facts established, viz. :—

- (a) During the time of Kālidāsa, poets never describe themselves, or write direct praises of their patrons. In the inscriptions of the 3rd or 4th century A. D., we find that writers have no such scruples, and, indeed, we find that later on, they go to the other end and extol their patrons unduly; we also find poets describing themselves, e.g. Bhavabhūti in the *Mālati Mādhava* and Bakpati in the *Garda Baho*.
- (b) The indirect reference of Kālidāsa in the śloka quoted above shows that the patron was the king of Avanti named Vikramāditya. Besides the *vyāñjana* shown above, there is another *slesha* in the śloka, viz., a pun on the word “bhānumatīva.” The last line is capable of a double construction:—

“भानुमतिर्यथैव कुमुदतीव सातस्मिन् भावं नदधौ”

“कुमुदती (कुमुदतीरूपा) साभानुमती राज्ञीव तस्मिन् भावं नदधौ”

What is extremely significant is that tradition names *bhānumatī* as the queen of the first Vikramāditya, the founder of the Mālava Era and the king of Avanti.

That a Hindu poet during the earlier period indicated above would not flatter his patron openly would be clear on the perusal of an otherwise obscure line in the *Meghadūta*: “*dinnaganam paṭhi pariḥaran sthulāhastā-valepan*”. Buddhistic kings from the time of Asoka were in the habit of praising themselves and their acts by carving inscriptions on pillars. Such self-praise Kālidāsa condemns as being vain and vulgar, and the pillars of Asoka and others prominent in the 1st century B. C. may well be described as *sthulāhastāvalepan*. The Buddhistic savants styled themselves *nagas*, and when on mission to various places, they would be aptly styled as *dinnagas*.

We shall quote other slokas from the same canto, describing the king of Magadha who was present during the *Śvayamvara* of Indumatī:—

असौ शरण्यः शरणोन्मुखानामगाधसत्त्वोमगधप्रतिष्ठः ।

राजाप्रजारजनलक्षवर्णः परन्तपोनाम यथार्थनाम ।

कामं नृपाः सन्ति सहस्रशोऽन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेनभूमिम् ।

नक्षत्र ताराग्रहसङ्कुलपि ज्योतिष्मती चन्द्रमसैव रात्रिः ।

क्रिया प्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहूत सहस्रनेत्रः ।

शच्यांश्चिरं पाण्डुकपोल लम्बान् मन्दारशून्यामलकांश्चकार ॥

The descendants of Pushya Mitra (Sungas) were ruling during the first

century B.C. Their power had declined but their prestige was great as having started the revival of Hinduism. Kalidasa describes this revival and the *asvamedhayajña* of *Pushpa Mitra* in one of his dramas (*Mālavikāgnimitra*). This description is strikingly peculiar as being the negation of the character of Asoka who was the most powerful king well remembered during the 1st century B. C. and admired by the Buddhists. During the first revival of Hinduism, the Hindus dared not attack him openly. It is well known that he interfered a good deal with the morality and religion of his subjects. His system of espionage was very thorough. Even festivities were interfered with by his officers with their ordained sermons. But the Hindu king should behave differently: he is to look to the secular comforts of the subjects: *prajārañjanalabahavarṇah* (cf. also the construction of *Rājā* in the *Raghuvamśa*, canto IV: *rājā prakṛitirañjanāt*; and also, Asoka's, Edicts). The Buddhistic king stopped *yajña* altogether to prevent the slaughter of animals. But this *parantapa* is described as performing *yajñas* so often as to cause material discomfort to the Divine queen. All these facts go to show that Kālidāsa must have lived at a time when the horse-sacrifice of Pushya Mitra was hailed with joy and remembered as a revival: this could not have occurred during the later Gupta kings. The happy hit at Asoka also points to the same conclusion. (cf. another hit at Asoka *re.* the conquest of Kalinga. Asoka annexes Kalinga, but dharmvijayī Raghu does not):

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य सधर्म्यविजयीनृपः ।

श्रियं मेहेन्द्रनाथस्य जहारननुमेदिनोम् ॥

This internal evidence from the *Raghuvamśa* goes a great way to show that Kālidāsa was the court-poet of the king of Avanti, and not of a king of Magadha; so that the first proposition cannot be maintained. But we shall cite one more instance from the *Raghuvamśa*, to substantiate our position.

In the *Raghuvamśa*, canto IV, while describing the *digvijaya* of Raghu, we find the poet describing the direction of the conquest. It is from Ajodhyā towards Bengal. Magadha is not specifically mentioned but it must be crossed while going to Bengal: from Bengal to Utkal and thence to Kalinga, and then farther south, along the sea-coast. The route takes a northerly course along the western sea-coast till it comes to Sindh. Then it goes towards Persia. The intermediate kingdoms again are not mentioned as in the case of Magadha. Then it comes to Kamboja and the adjoining Hun country towards the upper Indus and then goes to the Himalayan tracts and through the latter, to Pragjyotisha and Kamarupa (Assam), and then back again to Ajodhyā. This route is very suggestive. It studiously avoids the kingdom of Ujjain or Avanti. This is capable of only one explanation *viz.*, that Kālidāsa was the court-poet of the king of Avanti. A description of the

conquest of Avantī will be certainly construed as a bad omen and would not be liked by his patrons and readers alike. This therefore points to the conclusion that Kalidasa flourished under Vikramaditya, the king of Ujjain, not long after the 2nd century B. C.

We now come to the *second proposition* to show that this is altogether untenable: The age of Gunādhyā has been fixed, and Prof. Bühler has placed it in the first century A. D. King Śālivāhana, Śātavahana, or Hala was his patron. Raja Sekhur Suri, the author of the *Prabandha Kosha* says: "470 years after the nirvāna of Mahāvīra, Vikramāditya (reigned). More than one century after Śātavahana was the king at Pratiśthāna". Gunādhyā, the author of the *Vrihat-kathā*, Bātsyayana, the author of the *Rāsisāstra*, as also the author of the *Kalāpa Grammar* were among the prominent gems of his court. Śātavahana also collected various *gāthās* in Prākṛit written by various poets. Banabhaṭṭa speaks highly of *gāthā* and *Brihatkathā* :—

हरललेव कस्यनो किमवाय बृहत्कथा ।

अविनाशिनमग्रान्य मकरोत् शतवाहनः ।

विशुद्धजातिभिः कोपं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ॥

The *Brihatkathā* of Gunādhyā has not as yet been found out but we have got two epitomes in Sanskrit, one known as the *Bṛihatkathā-maṅjurī* and the other as the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. If we can trace the influence of Kalidāsa and Vikramāditya in the writings of Śātavahana and Gunādhyā, the second proposition altogether falls to the ground, and the first theory is established. This will be further confirmed if we can show a spirit of rivalry in the said writings.

In the 5th *Sataka* of the *Gāthā* (sloka 64), we find the following :—

संवाहण सुहरस्ततोसि एण देतेण तुहकरेलक्खं ।

चलपेन विकमाइत्त चरिअं अनुत्तिकखिअंतिसुसा ॥

Vikramāditya is here compared with the foot of the damsel, which being tickled gives *laksham*, which means in Sanskrit either *laksham* i.e., a lakh of money or *laksham* the lac juice used by Indian women to adorn their feet (i. e. *alta* in Bengali). This sloka is clearly intended to ridicule Vikramāditya whom we find from tradition to have been extremely liberal.

In the same *Sataka*, we find another very of significant sloka :—

आवण्णाइं कुलाइं देवित्थ जाणन्ति उन्नइं पेउं ।

गोरीव हिअअ दइओ अहवा शालाहण गरिन्दो ॥

A distinction is here drawn between the character of Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana altogether to the latter's advantage. The pun on the word *avannayim* (*aparnani* or *apannani*) shows that the writer had the word

aparna of the *Kumârasambhava* in his mind. The influence of Kalidasa in the *Gatha* can be abundantly traced. I shall, however, quote two instances, one showing an attempt to improve and draw a variation, and another showing an attempt to ridicule and bring a sublime picture into contempt.

In the *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa writes:—

आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशोभंगनानाम् ।

सद्यः पाति प्रणविद्वदयं विप्रयोगेरुणद्धि ॥

‘True’ says the *Gáthá*, ‘but with an exception.’ (1st. *Sataka Gáthá* 43).

विरहाणलो सहिज्जइ आसाबन्धेन बल्लहजनस्य ।

एकग्राम पवासो मात्र मरणं विसेसेइ ॥

The scene in the *Abhijñāna Sakuntalā*, in which Dushmanta meets his son and Sakuntala, with Dushmanta falling down to her feet, and the way in which she takes the whole thing is one of the sublimest productions in Sanskrit literature—a scene in which “the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed” or to quote the language of Goethe, “the Heaven and Earth in one sole name combine.” The *Gáthā* tries to bring this into ridicule by bringing in the idea of the mischievous boy riding on the back of the father:

पाअपीउ अँस्स पइणो पुट्ठि पुत्ते समारुइत्तम्मि ।

ददमणु दुस्मि आत्रण हासो धरिणीएणेकन्तो ॥

As regards the writings of Gunādhya, it is unfortunate that the original is lost. It would certainly be unsafe to rely upon epitomes made by later writers, who freely use the ideas and conceptions of Kālidāsa. But the main story of Udayana and Bāsavadattā, which is the string by which most of the subsidiary stories are tied together, must have been in the *Brihatkatha* as the story occurs in the same form in both the epitomes. In the *Meghaduta* however, we find the following:—

“सन्प्राप्यैनामुदयनकथाकोविद ग्रामवृद्धान् ।”

This shows that the story of Udayana was then an oral tradition to be learnt from the mouth of the elders. More than a century later, this story was first written by Gunādhya in the *Brihatkathā*. Had the *Brihatkathā* been extant when Kālidāsa wrote the *Meghaduta*, this line would have been meaningless. It may be added that in both the epitomes, we find the name of Vikramasena and Vikramāditya as the king of Avanti.

From all these facts, it is quite clear that Kālidāsa lived before and influenced the writings of Gunādhya and Salivāhana; so that the only theory tenable is that he lived before the 1st century A. D.

The next question is about the total falsity of the traditions about Vikramāditya and Kalidasa. If we omit the fantastic and extra-ordinary

elements which are generally mixed up in all early history and traditions, we get the following incidents about Vikramaditya :—He was the second son of his father who was the king of Avantī. His elder brother Bhartṛihari turned a monk while he became a king. He was a noble and heroic king, extremely liberal and fond of learning. He had a passionate love of adventures rather unusual in Indian monarchs and liked to travel in disguise, helping the weak and oppressed. He married Bhānumatī of Bhoja. He died a mysterious death in one of his adventures. He removed the capital from Hastināpura or Indraprastha to Avantī. He started an astronomical observatory at Avantī and a new era in connection herewith, and conquered and rebuilt the town of Ajodhyā. He took the title of Āditya because of his claim to belong to the solar race of Rāma and Raghu. When he died, he left no issue. On his death, his ministers celebrated the *Garbhābhisheka*, as one of the queens was in the family way. It is even stated that a posthumous son was born to him named Mayāditya. He turned a Buddhist and burned the sacred books of the Hindu Pandits by a stratagem (vide *Kathāmañjari* ; *Dvātrīṃsatsimkhāsana*).

That an astronomical observatory was started and the Hindus began to date the incidents from an era founded in Avantī, a portion of Malwa, is abundantly clear. The rebuilding of Ajodhyā is also corroborated by local evidence. It will be beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the traditions in detail and find out the historical basis, if any, of these traditions. But it seems to us that these traditions have been lightly discarded. We shall try here to show that the traditions about Vikramaditya are corroborated by the internal evidence of the works of Kālidasa.

Traditions.

1. Vikramaditya I was very fond of fighting and warcraft, and was extravagant in his liberalities.

2. The sudden death of Vikramaditya compelled the ministers to adopt the strange device of *garbhābhisheka* nowhere sanctioned in the Sastras. It can at best be only a contingent *abhisheka*. The queen

Internal Evidence.

Kalidasa describes the character of Raghu, and the type is exactly similar. His extreme liberality is very pointedly described. Vide canto V. *Raghuvamsa*. In canto VI also, we find Raghu described as,—

मृत्पात्रशेषामकरोदिभूतिम् ।

The poet takes great pains to make out a precedent after the death of Agrivarna in the *Raghuvamsa*, canto XIX. The beautiful description of *garbhābhisheka* may be quoted here

Traditions.

then reigned as the guardian of the son to be born, cf. *dvātrimsat put-talikā*.

The description of Kālidāsa will apply to this tradition without any variation.

3. Tradition says that this Vikramāditya founded an astronomical observatory and revived the astronomical learning.

4. Vikramāditya rebuilt the town of Ajodhyā. He took the title of *Aditya*, claiming to belong to the solar race.

5. Vikramāditya removed the centre of Hindu cult from Delhi to Avantī. This seems to have been done under military considerations. But the Hindus seem to have been hurt. As a recompense, Vikramāditya rebuilt Ajodhyā and located some of the traditionary incidents.

Internal Evidence.

तस्यास्तथाविधनरेन्द्रविपत्तिशोकात्
उष्णविलोचनजलैः प्रथमाभितप्तः ।
निर्वापितः कनककुम्भ मुखोऽग्निहतेन
वंशाम्बिके विधिना शिशिरेणगर्भः ॥

तंभावार्थं प्रसवसमयाकाङ्क्षिणानां प्रजानाम्
अन्तर्गुडे क्षितिरिवनमो वोजमुष्टं दधाना ।
मौलैः सार्द्धैस्त्विर सचिवैर्हैमसिंहासनस्था
राष्ट्रीराज्यं विधिवदश्लिषद् भर्तुरव्याहताज्ञा ॥

A treatise on astronomy still extant is ascribed to Kālidāsa. The latter is very fond of showing his astronomical learning. Compare the verses on the birth of Raghu in the *Raghuvamśa*, and on the birth of Umā in the *Kumarasambhava*, canto VI, sloka 1.

The epic poem of Kālidāsa deals with the solar race. It ends abruptly with the *garbhābhisheka* contrary to the canons of Alankāra sastras. Compare Kusa rebuilding the town of Ajodhya in the *Raghuvamśa*.

A passing reference to Kurukshetra cannot be avoided. But in no works of Kalidasa do we find any reference to the story of the *Mahābhārata* and the Pandavas. There is a reference to the *Harivamśa-parva*—

*varheneva sphuritaruchina
nopavelasya vishnoh*

but, strange to say, no reference to the characters and incidents of the Pandavas. On the other hand, the locations of incidents in the *Rāmāyana* are abundant and copious in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Meghadūta*.

Traditions.

6. The personality of Vikramāditya and his marriage with Bhānumatī.

7. The rebuilding of Ajodhya by Vikramāditya,

8. Traditions say that Vikramāditya was fond of helping the weak and the oppressed in disguise.

9. There must have been another *abhisheka* of the posthumous son Mayāditya ; the feelings of the queen mother must have been very conflicting and acute : *sukhamiti duhkhamiti vā*.

Internal Evidence.

vide slokas quoted above, canto VI, and an indirect reference to Bhānumatī.

Cf. *Raghuvamsa*, canto XVI :—
Ajodhya had become a wilderness and was rebuilt by Kusa.

Cf. the later characters of Kalidasa :

1. Dushmanta entering the *āśrama* in disguise ready to succour the oppressed.
2. Purūravā rescuing Urvasī from the *daityas*.
3. Siva going to Pārvatī in disguise.

Kalidasa describes similar feelings in the *Vikramorvasi*. The beautiful sloka may be quoted, and will be exactly applicable to the queen in the tradition :

किमुन्दरि प्ररुदितासि ममोपनीते ।
वंशस्थितेरधिगमात् स्फुरतिप्रमोदे ।
पीनस्तनोपरिनिशातिभिर्पयन्ती ।
मुक्तावली विरचनं पुनरुक्तमलैः ॥

It is, as if the spirit of Vikramāditya, is expostulating with the queen at this outburst of grief on such a joyous day.

Indeed these corroborations are considerable, and further instances need not be cited in this thesis.

The main arguments for rejecting the traditions altogether may be summed up under the following heads :—

1. No inscriptions or coins have been discovered corroborating the traditions. No poet describes his life and incidents. No foreign writer describes him.

1. This is no doubt the principal argument used against the Vikramāditya tradition. But proper searches have not as yet been made in Ajodhya and Ujjain. The position taken by the Hindu revival (as

Traditions.

2. The samvat era was formerly described as Malava era without mentioning the name of Vikramaditya.

3. Vikramaditya seems to be a title and not a name. None of the puranas mention the name of Vikramaditya.

Internal Evidence.

shown before) in the writings of Kalidasa clearly shows self-adulations in epigraphy to be very improbable.

If the theory of Vikramaditya as being the founder of the era is discarded, then this question suggests itself. How did the era start? Some scholars are of opinion that it started with the conquests made by the Malavas. But if the era started in a certain year, the conquest by the Malavas must have started thence, and it must have been guided by a king or chief. The ingenious theory of antedating for 600 years has been negatived by reference to the Malava era in the earlier inscriptions. With a revival of Hinduism, almanacs were a necessity. The astronomical learning and school at Ujjain were the basis of all calculations of the progress of time. So the era was naturally described as the Malava Era apart from the king who founded it. It was only when the school at Ujjain declined that the era was described as *Vikramābda*.

Unlike in Europe, proper names have generally an etymological meaning in India. The fact that subsequent kings used the name as a title shows the popularity of the first king. In Europe also when a king became powerful, he adopted the title of Cæsar.

The Puranas are concerned with dynasties of kings and not

Traditions.

4. No genealogy of the kings of Delhi can be traced either in the Purānas or elsewhere.

Internal Evidence.

with cases of individual careers.

However brilliant his career might have been Vikramaditya's unpopularity with the orthodox Hindus is clear and may be explained as shown above. Like Napoleon, the character of Vikrama might have been brilliant but he failed to found a dynasty or a stable kingdom, and to earn historicity.

Col. Todd in his *Rājasthāna* has collected the genealogy (from Yudhishtira downwards up to the time of this Vikramāditya) of the kings who ruled over Delhi. Dayananda Sarasvatī in his *Satārtha Prakāsa* has also collected this genealogy. No reason whatever has been assigned why these genealogies should be disbelieved.

We have entered into all these details to show that the traditions have been dealt with rather hardly by scholars. It is certainly beyond the scope of this thesis to examine all the arguments and establish the identity of Vikramaditya I. The date of Kalidasa can be determined without entering into this controversy. The patron of Kalidasa might not be a great king who left his mark in history. A great poet need not necessarily have an historical king to back him. But the quotations from the writings of Kalidasa show that there was such a king as Vikramaditya whose court was adorned by Kalidasa.

We shall now deal with the *fourth proposition*. The age of Asva Ghosha is admitted to be the 1st century A. D. during the time of Kanishka. In his *Buddha-charita*, we find certain slokas parallel to those of Kalidasa. If the former can be shown to have been borrowed from Kalidasa, there cannot be any doubt that Kalidasa lived before the 1st century A. D. On the other hand, if Kalidasa borrowed from Asva Ghosha, he must have flourished after the 1st century A. D. We shall now refer to the slokas in canto VII of the *Raghuvamśa*.

Slokas 5 to 12.

ततस्तदालोकन तत्पराणां सौधेषुचामिकरजालवत्सु ।

बभूवुरित्थं पुरसुन्दरीणां लक्ष्म्याकार्याणि विचेष्टितानि ॥ ५ ॥

* * * * *

ताराधवं दृष्टिभिरापिबन्तो नायोनजग्मु विषयान्तराणि ।

तथापिरोपेन्द्रिय वृत्तिरासां सर्वात्मना चक्षुरिव प्रतिष्ठा ॥ १२ ॥

In the *Kumārasambava* (canto VII), we find the following slokas :—

तस्मिन् मुहूर्ते पुरसुन्दरीणां मीशानसन्दर्शनलालासानाम् ।

प्रासादमालासु बभूवुरित्थं लक्ष्म्याकार्याणि विचेष्टितानि ॥ ७ ॥

* * * * *

तमेकदृश्यंनयनैःपिवन्त्यो नायोनजग्मु विषयान्तराणि ।

तथाहिशेषेन्द्रियवृत्तिरासां सर्वात्मना चक्षुरिवप्रतिष्ठा ॥

The intermediate slokas describing the inquisitive damsels crowding at the windows of the big buildings are exactly the same. Prof. S. Roy in his thesis on the time of Kalidasa has examined the slokas of Asva Ghosha in detail and found them to have been borrowed from Kalidasa. The arguments used are convincing, and I need not repeat them here, I shall, however, add a few remarks to show that Asva Ghosha has borrowed from Kalidasa :—

(1) We find the slokas in question repeated *verbatim* in two places. This may be due to the copyists, and the slokas have lost nothing by repetition. The subtle and delicate humour mixed with the suggestion of pictures merely hinted at and not described in full are the great peculiarities of Kalidasa in all his works. These traits are very prominent in these slokas. The copyists seem to have greatly relished their beauties, which made them put the slokas again in another fit place. Such a thing would never have been done if they had been borrowed from another writer. If it be held that the poet himself repeated the slokas, he would not have done so, had they been but borrowed plumes.

(2) Parallel passages occur in many places, and, sometimes, there is no question of borrowing. The same ideas may strike different poets and may be described in a similar manner. Cf. Shakespeare's description of fire that would peep into the eyelids of Imogen (*Cymbeline*) and the bridal fire's passionate desire to adorn Indumati (*Raghuvamśa*), canto VII, sloka 26). But when we find a poet trying to pick out a loop-hole in the description of another and improving upon or casting a fling at it, the fact that the improver has borrowed is certain. The look of the damsels towards the form of Aja is not strictly moral according to Asva Ghosha, and he takes care to save his own damsels from this charge by specifically describing that their hearts were pure, and that there was no such intensity as in Kalidasa.

Further on, we find that Asva Ghosha elaborates the metaphors used by Kalidasa and goes further than that poet by supplying details. In one sloka, he has gone too far, and has become obscene in his realistic details.

(3) Asva Ghosha has another fling at Kalidasa in a different place. Siva succumbed to the influences of Mara or Madana. But Buddha could not be subdued, and Mara wonders at the fact. This is certainly an improvement according to Asva Ghosha. It seems that Bharavi took his revenge on Asva Ghosha, for in his epic, not only the tempters fail to overcome Arjuna but are themselves overcome. These elaborations, in my opinion, settle the chronology of the poets beyond any doubt.

(4) Buddhism and Brahmanism had long been opposing each other. Literature, philosophy, and traditions were all recorded in different languages. The Buddhists and the Jains selected the Pali and Prakrit as their languages. The revival of Hinduism starts with the revival of the old Sanskrit cult. About two centuries after, we find that Buddhist saints accept Sanskrit, and Asva Ghosha writes a *kavya* in Sanskrit. This shows that Sanskrit literature had developed a good deal, and was read and admired by the Hindus and Buddhists alike. A common expression of art was reached by this means. We cannot trace a literature capable of producing such results unless we put the writings of Kalidasa within the 1st century B. C.

(5) The ideas of Kalidasa have been copied by various writers. The *Skanda Purāṇa* copies whole chapters and verses word for word. The *Padma Purāṇa* borrows the story of Sakuntala which is materially different from that in the *Mahabhārata*. The *Markandeya Purāṇa* copies the character of Durvasa from the *Sakuntalā* of Kalidasa and, in fact, represents the popular conception of the present day. Some of the expressions of Kalidasa e.g. *na yayau na tasthau* are household words even at the present moment. There is no end of the *duta* literature from the time of the *Meghadūta*. To say that Kalidasa largely borrowed words and ideas will be an absurd supposition. On the other hand, the treatise of Asva Ghosha was scarcely ever mentioned anywhere. Asva Ghosha was no doubt a great saint, but his *Buddha-charita* seems scarcely to have been well-known beyond his own limited circle.

From these facts, it will be clear that Aśva Ghosha wrote long after Kalidasa. Sanskrit literature had made a good reputation and impression when Asva Ghosha departed from the old custom of the Buddhists and wrote a *Kavya* in Sanskrit. He could not resist the temptation of copying the slokas which greatly impressed him, and tried to improve upon them in his own way. If Asva Ghosha borrowed from Kalidasa, the latter must have lived before the 1st century A. D.

We shall now deal with the *second portion of the fourth proposition* to show that Kalidasa lived during or shortly after the time of the last Sungas. This will put Kalidasa in the 1st century B. C. Some of the points may be stated as follows :—

(1). As shown above, Kalidasa was profoundly impressed by the horse-sacrifice of Pushya Mitra. He refers to it directly in his *Malavikagnimitra* and indirectly in the *Raghuvamsa*. All these facts show that Hinduism had just commenced to revive, and the horse-sacrifice was remembered gratefully by the Hindus.

(2). The last kings were steeped in sensual enjoyment and the moral degradations are well painted in the character of Agnivarna.

(3). There is one striking peculiarity in the *Malavikagnimitra* : it is the character of *Dharini*. The *Malavikagnimitra* belongs to a well-preserved type of Sanskrit dramas dealing with a king who having a number of wives tries to marry another damsel after overcoming the jealousy and opposition of the chief queen or Devī. But in the drama, we find a variation. The jealousy and opposition have been ascribed to a minor queen. In the whole book there is nothing to show any love or jealousy on the part of Dharinī. Some Pandits try to find a deeper motive and subtle diplomacy in this character. But this is nowhere shown in the drama, which was written by an artist of a very high order. In India, queens generally organize a theatrical party of their own, and if any actress is removed, they naturally resent it. But beyond this feeling, which is certainly not love, we do not find any other depicted by Kalidasa. It was very easy for the latter to depict diplomacy or deep motive by suggestive utterances *aside* or by *conduct*, but it is not done. The theory of a higher order of love is also open to the same objection. On the other hand, Agnimitra and his friend Bidushaka seem to treat her with an extraordinary amount of fear and respect. This suggests the idea that Dharinī was a real character, well-remembered and respected in Magadha at the time. She must have been respected as Rāṇī Bhavanī of the first century is respected at present in Bengal. Ordinary love making with its usual fits of passion and jealousy would be resented by the audience in a character respected as the mother of the people.

(4) On a perusal of Abhijñān Sakuntala, it becomes clear that at the time of its composition, *asavarna-vivāha* was not considered improper, provided it was *anuloma*. According to the present *Smritis*, Sakuntala would not be a kshatriya but a varṇasaṅkara. So a kshatriya marrying her with the full approval of the *Smritis* of the time points to an earlier period. We also find from the the same drama that the widow had no right of inheritance and

the crown took her property by escheat. These laws are earlier than those of *Manu* and are even found in the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya :

द्रव्यमपुत्रस्य सोदर्याभ्रातरः सहजीविनोवा हरेयुः ।

कन्याश्चविक्रयं पुत्रवतः पुत्रादुद्धितरोवा धर्मिष्ठे- ।

विवाहेपुत्राताः तदभावे पिता पित्रभावे भ्रातरः भ्रातृपुत्राश्च ।

आदायादकं राजा हरेत् ३ आधि ५ अ ७० प्रः ॥

Further down, we get the following in the same work :—

Chaturvarnya-putranam brahmanaputra chaturomsan haret &c., &c., &c., &c.

This clearly shows that *asavarna* marriage was sanctioned when it was *anuloma* and not *pratiloma*, and that Kalidasa lived at a time when Hindu law corresponded with that laid down by Kautilya, and this state of things could well have existed just after the commencement of the Hindu revival *i. e.*, the first century B. C. under Pushyamitra.

We have thus shown that *none of the four propositions is tenable*. On the other hand, they are incorrect, and the *contrary propositions* stand good *viz* :—

- (1) Kalidasa did not flourish under the Gupta kings of Magadha but under king Vikramaditya of Avanti.
- (2) He lived and wrote before king Salivahana who flourished in the first century A. D.
- (3) That the traditions of the earlier Vikramaditya cannot be so easily discarded. They are corroborated by the writings of Kalidasa on many material points. But even if we discard the idea of an earlier Vikramaditya, the time of Kalidasa is proved to be within the first century B. C. from other internal evidences.
- (4) Asva Ghosha, the author of the *Buddha-charita*, has borrowed from Kalidasa and tried to amplify and improve upon his ideas.
- (5) Kalidasa lived at a time which tallies exactly with that of the last Sungas.

These propositions being established *refute both the second and third theories*. It would be quite out of place to deal with the whole of the internal evidences from Kalidasa's writings. To the important points noted above, a few others of a different character may be added :—

- (a) The metres used by Kalidasa are fewer in number than those in later literature. The obscure and difficult metres occur frequently.
- (b) The Yamaka used is of a very simple nature like *yamavatama-vatancha duristhitah*.

- (c) Technicalities and artificialities of the *alankāra śāstra* are absent. The purely artificial prohibitions of rhetoric have not been observed.
- (d) In the descriptions of Agnivarṇa, and in other places, the artificialities of *Kāma śāstra* are not mentioned or alluded to. The allusions sought to be imported by the annotators can only be brought in by staining the texts. The allusion to the Buddhists is markedly absent.
- (e) The Puranic characters belong to the early stage of ideas. The story of Radha and Kṛishṇa is not found.
- (f) There is no attempt to perform grammatical gymnastics.

The art of creating double meanings (*slesha*) and apparent contradictions (*virodhābhāsa*) by means of obscure words and inflexions was altogether unknown at the time.

If we come to external evidences and refer to other works, we find the influence of Kalidasa very much marked in the *Mṛichchhakatika*, *Bhāṭṭikavya*, as also in the works of *Bhartrihari*, *Subandhu*, *Dāndi* and many other writers. The inscriptions all bear strong traces of his influence. All these facts go to establish the above propositions and to show that the second and third theories cannot be maintained.

We shall now come to *Mahamahopādhyaya Haraprasad Sastri's theory which is closely analogous to the third theory*. He maintains that Kalidasa lived in the 6th century A. D. in the court of Yasodharma Dharmavardhana of Ujjain. We have pointed out the difficulty in the theory of placing Kalidasa so closely on the heels of Bana Bhatta. The theory is mainly based on an inscription extolling the deeds of Yasodharma. Vasula, son of Kakka, writes the slokas in the inscription. Much of the flattering descriptions loses its force by the candid remark of the poet that it was made with the avowed object of pleasing the monarch :—

इतिमुष्टयया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्मणः ।

वासुलेनोपराचिताः कंकाः कक्षस्यवदुना ॥

- 1 At the very outset we find that—

The practice of open flattery by court-poets was in full force at the time. This, as shown above, must have been long after Kalidasa.

- 2 If Yasodharma had such a poet as Kalidasa in his court, why did he select Vasula to write the inscriptions? The poems are certainly not of a very high order.
- 3 The style adopted shows a later stage of literature, though the influence of Kalidasa may be easily traced.

Cf. the following sloka in the inscription :

वेपन्तेयस्यभामस्तनिलयादुद्भ्रान्तदैत्या दिगन्ताः ।
 शृंगाद्यातैः सुमेरोर्विघटित दृषदः कन्दरायः करोति ।
 उक्षाणंदधानः क्षितिधरतनया दत्तपञ्चांगुलीकम् ।
 द्राक्षिष्टः शलपाणेः क्षपयतुमवतां शत्रुतेजांसिकेतुः ॥

This sloka bears strong traces of the *Kumārasambhava*, canto I, *Raghuvamśa*, cantos IV and V.

But the great obstacle that this theory has to face, as stated before, is the Mandasore inscription written by Batsa Vatti. The learned Sastri tries to explain it away by saying that,—

- (a) Batsa Vatti evidently borrows from Kalidasa while describing the seasons. There was a convention of describing the seasons, and Kalidasa took to that convention.
 (b) *Ritusamhāra* is not so fine a poem that Batsa Vatti would borrow from it.

Answers to these propositions may be stated as follows:—

- (a) This theory is not supported by any fact and is only a supposition.

We shall, however, quote other slokas besides those borrowed from *Ritusamhāra*. Batsa vatti writes as follows:—

चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाधान्यत्यर्थशुङ्गान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।
 तद्विलताचित्रसिताभ्रकूटतुल्योपमानानि गृहाणियत्र ॥
 कैलासतुंगशिखरप्रतिमाणि चान्यान्याभान्तिदोर्ध्वबलभोनि सवेदिकानि ।
 गान्धर्वशब्दमुखराणि निविष्टचित्र कर्माणि लोकदलीवनशोभितानि ॥

These slokas are the evident out come of the first sloka in the *Uttara Megha* :—

विद्युत्पुलकं ललित वनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः ।
 संगीतायप्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम् ।
 अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुंगमग्नं लिहाग्राः ।
 प्रासादास्त्वा तुल्यितुमलं यत्रतैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥

There is also an idea in *abhramlihagrah* by comparison with Kailasa. The admitted effort of writing "prayatnena" by a new poet professedly borrowing from other poets is very marked. But the description of a house with beautiful damsels compared to a dark cloud radiant with lightning has been clearly borrowed and an attempt is made to improve it.

Was there a convention of describing houses as well? And was Kalidasa trained in another convention?

It is clear therefore Batsa Vatti borrowed from Kalidasa.

While describing summer, Kalidasa writes :

निशाःशशाकं क्षतनीरराजयःकजिद्विचित्रं जलयन्त्रमन्दिरम् ।

मणिप्रकाराः सरसञ्चन्दनं शुचौप्रियेयान्तिजनस्यसेव्यताम् ।
सुवासितहर्म्यतलं मनोहरं प्रिया मुखोदास विकम्पितमधु ॥

Batsa Vatti while describing winter in the inscription has this in his mind, and he starts by a negation of these pleasures in winter.

चन्द्रांशु हर्म्यतल चन्दन तालवृन्तहारोप भोगरहिते

In fact, M. Haraprasad Sastri is himself aware of the weakness of his position. But he is determined not to concede it. Says he: "If we once concede to this, we shall have to put the date of Kalidasa to at least the middle of the 4th century A. D." "But this" he says "nobody is prepared to accept." This argument is very strange. What he means is that if his theory goes, Macdonell's theory goes too. The logical conclusion would have been to accept a theory closely analogous to the 1st theory. But sentiments and prejudices probably stand in the way.

- (b) "Is *Ritusamhara* such a fine poem" asks the Sastri "that poets of a particular locality should continue to imitate it for two centuries?" 'Particular locality' and 'two centuries' are unnecessary limitations. All the Sanskrit poets up to the last stage of the vitality of Sanskrit literature have been profoundly impressed by the *Ritusamhara* and have copied and tried to improve upon it. Even such a sedate poet as Bhavabhuti has tried to improve the idea in the description of summer: the torpor of midday summer heat with snakes and frogs panting together and drowsing in the intense heat has been described by Kalidasa. Bhavabhuti amplifies it "Ajagabasvedādravah piyate." Bharavi, Subandhu, Magha, Bana Bhatta, Dandi, (and in fact every body) has borrowed from the *Ritusamhara*. In picturesqueness of creative fancy and a keen artistic sense of sensuous beauty and sensuous indulgence, this poem stands almost unrivalled in the whole of Sanskrit literature. It is only *Bhatti Kavya* canto II which has been able to approach this description of Kalidasa.

In Prof. Macdonell's opinion, "the *Ritusamhara* is a highly poetical description of the six seasons with glowing descriptions of the beauties of nature in which erotic scenes are interspersed, and the poet adroitly interweaves the expressions of human emotions. Perhaps no other work of Kalidasa manifests so strikingly the poet's deep sympathy with nature, his keen powers of observation, and his skill in describing an Indian landscape in vivid colours." I may add that a keen perception of the beautiful and the artistic has saved him from vulgarity and obscenity. The art in the *Ritusamhara Sringara Tilaka*

and *Malavikagnimitra* is similar, A higher development of his art occurred later on. Internal evidence shows that he lived in Magadha during his earlier days. Subsequently, he removed to Avanti and became the court-poet there. He describes Avanti in glowing colours in the *Meghadhuta Divimabhuvah kantimatkhandamekam*. A high conception of delicate tenderness and all that it sublime and noble is the marked characteristic of his later writings. But the original art is certainly of a very high order.

I shall close this portion after quoting one more sloka from *Batsa Vatti* :—

स्मरवशगत तरुणजन वल्लभांगना विपुलकान्त पानोरु-
स्तनजघन धनालिंगन निर्मलसित तुहिनीहिमपाते ।

Cf. *Ritusamhara* :

पयोधरैः कुङ्कुमरागपिञ्जरैः सुखोपसेव्यैर्नववौवनोष्मभिः ।
विलासिनीनां परिपोडितोरसः स्वपन्तिशोतपरिभूयकामिनः ॥

Batsa Vatti slavishly copies the idea of Kalidasa with an improvement by the addition of *jaghana* which is hardly in good taste there.

I shall only touch upon the other arguments of the learned Sastri to support his theory. They are not convincing and, mostly, hypothetical.

(1) Kalidasa does not describe the Western Empire of Rome. Persia seems to be the limit of his geography. Nothing can be inferred from that. The Greeks or Yavanas mentioned in Kalidasa were evidently the Bactrians who are conspicuous as a border tribe till the 1st century B. C.

(2) "Persia was very powerful in the 6th century A.D. and the reference to Persia shows that it was powerful at that time." This argument is altogether untenable. Nowhere have the Persians been described as powerful. All that is stated is that they used horses in fight and they had curly beards which looked like honey-flies in their flushed faces. No power can be ascribed to them from these premises.

Kalidasa writes :—

पारसीकास्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपून् तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमि ॥

How could the learned Sastri deduce that Persia was adjacent to India at that time? The very use of the word *Sthalavartmana* shows that there must have been a sea route. A metaphor is used, which shows that the land route was preferred as being slow but sure. The intermediate small principalities may well be ignored in a poem. As shown before, Kalidasa omits Magadha and describes the conquest from Ajodhya to Bengal. Does he mean to say that Bengal and Ajodhya were adjacent?

The explanation given by Prof. S. Roy about the prestige of sea power of the Persians seems to be more probable.

Kalidasa writes यवनामुरपदानां सेहे मधुमदनसः If by *yavani* Kalidasa meant the Greeks, then there must have been a tribe of Greeks adjoining Persia in the 1st century B. C. and history corroborates it, as the Bactrians must be the tribe meant.

(3) We now come to the Hun argument of the learned Sastri. What he means is that during the 6th century A. D., the Huns conquered a portion of India and settled there, and Yasodharma defeated them; and Kalidasa refers to these Huns, thus showing that he lived in the 6th century A. D. These arguments labour under two serious defects:—

(a) Kalidasa does not describe them as living in India but outside it on the route from Persia to the upper Indus and thence to the Himalayan tracts. So, his conclusion is without any premise and without any foundation.

(b) If, as the Pandit argues, the Huns began the destruction of the Roman Empire in the 1st century A. D., what prevented them from descending upon India at that time? They attacked when the Maurya kings became weak. Pushyamitra checked these foreign invasions and commemorated his victory by a horse-sacrifice. Such invasions must have followed the line of least resistance. Vikramaditya I. of Ujjain is credited with having defeated them during the weakness of Magadha during the last Sungas or shortly after. Again, when the Gupta kings became weak many centuries later, these foreign attacks were renewed, and it may be that Yasodharma drove them off. The name *hunavarodha* does not disprove that Kalidasa flourished in the 1st century B. C. The location of the Huns as described by Kalidasa disproves the above supposition.

(c) The next attempt is to break up the simple word *utsava sanketa* into three Tibetan words Uchang, Botang and Kotang. I need not dwell upon the humour of this argument, which is perhaps not made in earnest. The word *akshobhya* again is the name of a Buddhist saint. But how does the common word fit in with the context?

तत्राक्षोभ्यं वक्षोराशि सन्निवेशावकरोहसः ।

This means that he left an untarnished reputation there. But how possibly can it mean a Buddhist saint? It seems that there is an attempt to get at *any* argument.

- (d) "These two powers (Cholas and Pandyas) from the beginning of their existence long before Asoka were fighting with each other." If so, there is no wonder that the Cholas lost their power and independence in the 1st century B. C., and might again have recovered their power or lost it again. Chola kings came into prominence in the 2nd century A. D. This shows that Kalidasa lived before the 2nd century A. D.
- (e) I shall now deal with the remaining arguments together. The description of Skanda or the War God in the *Meghadûta* cannot be the description of Skandagupta the king as the Paṇḍit tries to make out. It refers to the birth of the War God which, in case of a human King, would be scandalous. Then it is stated that Yasodharma made the Himalayas accessible for the first time and Kalidasa describes the Himalayas. Here the Paṇḍit goes further than the flattering poet who writes :—

आर्गगाच्छित्तानोः पश्चिमदो पयोधेः ।

यस्यच्छिष्टो मुजाम्बां बहतिहिमगिरिर्दुर्गशब्दाभिमानम् ॥

There is nothing to show that he was the first to make the Himalayas accessible.

- (f) There is one more point before I conclude. The learned Sastri means to say that Bharavi preceded Kalidasa. But this is against the accepted opinion of scholars. The Kiratarjuniya freely borrows from the *Kumarasambhava* of Kalidasa. So I need not argue the point.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

I.

To

THE EDITOR

The Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, India.

SIR,

I write to you as one of the editors of the *Heritage of India Series*, several volumes of which have been very favourably reviewed in your columns.

In the April issue, I notice a review of Prof. Berriedale Keith's *Sāṃkhya System*, in which that volume is very warmly praised except in one particular. The writer says that it has only "this shortcoming, that it is based on translations and criticisms of Sāṃkhya works by previous European writers, and not the water drawn from the original spring of Devanagari Sanskrit". The reviewer shows such an excellent spirit that I am sure he would be the last to wish to mislead your readers, but he has here done the writer of the book a serious injustice. The truth is Dr. Berriedale Keith is one of the greatest living Orientalists, and his little book on the Sāṃkhya System is based on a thorough study of all the texts in the original Sanskrit.

I am sure you, Sir, will be glad to publish this letter, in order to set the matter right.

Yours very truly,
J. N. FARQUHAR.

A Reply.

SIR,

It remains for us now to add a few words to the above observations of Dr. Farquhar. We have to offer him our assurance that our criticism of any publication kindly sent to us, is never actuated by any feeling but that of cordial welcome. The utmost care is taken to ensure for authors all possible and reasonable words of encouragement, and to make the world recognise that for all works which have the purpose of throwing light on the dark caves of Indian antiquity, we make it a business to extend our most solicitous consideration. We, and the rest of India, who entertain a deep love of Sanskrit, recognise the yeoman service which Western scholars are doing in keeping up the light of Sanskrit learning in the universities of the West. On that account, Western savants may be sure that they will command the respect of individual critics, and of institutions here.

The remark in our review to which Dr. Farquhar takes exception was made after reference to the fact that out of the some 120 references to authorities, made in Dr. Keith's book, only three are original Sanskrit texts.

G. R. JOSYER.

“A fragment of comparative Mythology”

PLEIADES KRITHIKAS.

SIR,

The term Pleiades in the English language is probably borrowed from Greek or Latin and has passed through no stages of alteration or distortion either in orthography or meaning. Its original mythological meaning is that the Pleiades are the seven daughters of Atlas and the nymph Pleione fabled to have been made a constellation in the heavens by Jupiter. Astronomically, this group of stars is located in the neck of the constellation Taurus. This group of stars is what in Sanskrit is called the Shat-Krithikas *plus* Arundhati. The Indian astronomers assign the same position to this group i.e. Vrishabha, according to the zodiacal names current in Sanskrit. According to Madler, a German astronomer of some repute, who flourished in the nineteenth century, Alcyone, the brightest of these stars, a star of the 3rd magnitude, is the pivot around which the whole universe is revolving. But there is not sufficient evidence for this theory. Only six of the Pleiades are distinctly visible to the naked eye. On this the ancient western mythologists built up a theory, that this star Alcyone, who was originally one of the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione, had concealed herself for shame for having loved a mortal, by name, Sisyphus. Here steps in the mythological element and we have to see, whether such or a similar theory is current among the Indian astronomers and mythologists.

2. This question leads me to the subject of Hindu marriages. Hindu marriages, and especially Brahmin marriages have, from time immemorial, been considered extraordinarily sacerdotal functions, so much so, that the omission of any one of the minutest details, enjoined a heavy and arduous religious sacrifice and a necessary penalty. The real philosophic significance of the Mantras, was as years rolled on, entirely forgotten. When the philosophic and religious significance of this institution fades away, no wonder that, a necessary consequence, the marriage tie becomes so loose that desertion of innocent wives becomes a matter of ordinary occurrence. No wonder that the Indian Purohit who was once looked up to as a great adviser, now-a-days repeats his mantras as a parrot and has lost his dignified position. When the bride and the bridegroom utter the Mantras नतिद्यगमि and pass through the Saptapadi i.e. (treading seven steps) they actually pass through the function as if they were stage-actors. The mythological portion of the function follows, when the husband and wife are shewn the single wife of the sage Vasistha in contradistinction to and in preference to the Shat-Krithikas, who are also the wives of Vasistha. It is a well known fact that most of the Mantras, that are used in Hindu ceremonial functions are quotations from the Vedas and the marriage ceremonial is no exception to it. The significance of the numerical *shat* i.e. six, in shat-Krithikas becomes important. The object of showing the single wife of Vasistha in preference to the other six becomes significant. The learned

commentator adds that they were omitted and were not shown as they were unchaste. In another connection the shat-kritthikas are mentioned as the nymphs, who were in attendance on King Karthikeya, the god of War, as nurses. What reputation nurses bore, and now bear seems to be time-honoured.

3. A myth corresponding to Alcione's preveils in Sanskrit Literature around the name of Dhruva, one of the sons of King Uttanapada who had two wives, Suruchi and Sumiti, the latter of whom he did not like. He had two sons by name Uttama and Dhruva, one by each of his wives, respectively. Dhruva, the son by his junior wife, wanted to ascend the lap of his father, while his consanguine brother had finished doing so. His step-mother and father at once rebuked him, and threw him off. Thereupon, the boy went sobbing to his mother, who consoled him with the idea that the frowns and smiles of the Goddess of Fortune are never constant and that the grace of God is the only salvation. Thereupon the boy, young as he was, at once left for the woods and began to practice severe austerities with the hope of getting final salvation and beatitude. God Vishnu, being pleased at his disciple's fervour and devotion, appeared before him, and offered to give him what ever he wanted. There upon Dhruva wanted nothing but constant and unswerving devotion to his Almighty Saviour. But God, in return, blessed him saying that his own father will crown him as king, and after ruling for twenty-six thousand years on earth, he will be fixed as the Pole star, around which the whole universe is said to move.

4. Scanty as my knowledge of astronomy is, I am able to state that the Pole-star Dhruva does not form one of the constellation Pleiades. The seventh star of the constellation is called Arundhati-अरुन्धति and is also visible to the naked eye, though with a little straining. *Ursa Major* or the Great Bear which is called in Sanskrit the Saptarishis, also moves round the Pole-star. In addition to these seven stars, in the constellation Pleiades, recent telescopic observations have revealed to us the existence of a larger number of fainter ones, such as, sixty in the same cluster. Herein lies an interesting fact that a few stars apparently within this group do not partake of the motion characteristic of the group. But scientifically unless they have some motion, among themselves, they would otherwise ultimately fall together, by mutual attraction.

5. A comparison of the myths discloses, that the western mythologists believed that one of the daughters of Atlas and Pleione had gone astray and as such concealed herself for shame and became invisible to the naked eye. But according to the German astronomer already quoted, this star is a star of the 3rd magnitude and is the brightest of that constellation. Whereas in eastern mythology, all the stars—shat-kritthikas—though visible to the naked eye, are not shown on account of their bad character, as the unchaste wives of Vasishta, and only the star Arundhati which is of a lower brilliancy is shown.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Catalogue of Copper-Plate grants in the Madras Government Museum.

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, MADRAS.

Price Annas Fourteen—2sh. 6d.

THIS is a useful catalogue prepared by Mr. R. Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, M. A., Archeological Assistant, Madras Museum. It contains a short description of each of the grants, over 200 in number, in the Museum. The oldest grant in the collection belongs to the 4th century A.D., and its language is Prakrit. The language of the bulk of the other grants is Sanskrit. The grants in this language—ranging up to the 17th century A.D.—number 101; then comes Tamil with 62 grants; then Telugu with 33; Kannada has 17; while Malayalam and Oriya have each one to their credit. Almost all the grants as usual record a donation—gift of land, village, perquisite or privilege. Most of the grants are dated. The Compiler has rightly adopted the dynastic system in arranging the grants. The summaries given are fairly full while the index, which is copious, gives references to villages etc. The dates of the grants have also been included in the summaries, as also brief references to previous notices of the grants and to transcripts published in learned publications. The catalogue, we note, includes all copper-plates received in the Museum up to August 1917. Its usefulness is likely to be enhanced if quinquennial supplements are regularly issued by the Museum Superintendent. We would also suggest to the Mysore Government to direct the publication of a similar catalogue of all copper-plate grants in the Bangalore Museum. Another catalogue devoted to the many coins in it would also be highly appreciated by scholars and others.

C. H. R.

Vedantha Desika-His Life and Literary Writings by M. K. Tatacharya B.A.

PUBLISHED BY T. S. RAMASWAMI IYENGAR, S. R. PRESS, KUPPAM.

Price annas 10, including all charges.

THE above is a clear and succinct summary of the life and literary writings of Vedantha Desika, the great philosopher, religious teacher, poet and logician who flourished in Southern India during the 13th century A.D. When the great Ramanuja, the founder of the Visishtadvaita system of philosophy passed away, Vaishnavism suffered a good deal for want of competent successors who could command the personality, the magnetism and the unifying soul-force which characterised its Founder—so much so, that, within a few decades, disputes arose as

to the very ideals of Ramanuja which ultimately divided the sect into two which exist even to this day, giving rise to innumerable and costly law suits. These distinctions which are almost minor are clearly explained by the author which should open our eyes to their trivial nature and induce the leaders of the community to put an end to this regrettable disunion.

The upheaval of Vaishnavism during the period under notice may well be compared to the Reformation period of Europe with this difference that, while Protestantism asserted its supremacy in the sister Continent, the reverse proved to be the case in this land of religions. We are not in possession of the exact views of Sri Ramanuja whether he was a Protestant as he is represented to be or a thorough Catholic of ceremonials and rituals as others take him to be. This much can, however, be safely asserted that the orthodox school of Vaishnavism in Southern India was in great danger in the 13th century being subject to the onslaughts of Advaitism which aimed at the Visishtadvaitic nature of its philosophy on the one hand, and to the attacks of its Protestant brethren which threatened its ceremonials on the other. It is at this juncture that the great Vedantha Desika was born in Tupput, a suburb of modern Conjeevaram, and but for his birth orthodox Vaishnavism would have died a premature death. His simple life, great thoughts, high attainments and other virtues too numerous to mention are ably dealt with by the author which we hope every one of our readers will study carefully.

The second part of the book is more interesting than the first. Herein a clear idea of the writings of Vedantha Desika is given by a comparison with the writings of the greatest poet of India, Kalidasa, whom Desika set as his ideal. The latter poets must necessarily imitate however gifted they may be; but how they have imitated, to the advantage or disadvantage of the original, must be our sole criterion in passing judgment on their literary merits. Judged by this standard we have no hesitation in giving Desika a high rank in the literary galaxy of Sanskrit poets. The comparison between Hamsasandesa and Meghasandesa may profitably be read by all. The author has given at the end of the book a list of Desika's works which exceed more than a hundred. The printing and getting up is by the well known Ananda Press of Madras and leaves nothing to be desired. Considering the merit of the work, the price of ten annas should be considered cheap.

V. S.

Mazdaism in the Light of Vishnuism

BY A. GOVINDACHARYA SWAMIN M. R. A. S., M. R. S. A.

(G. T. A. Press, Mysore : Rs. 1-8-0).

THE book is worthy of the author and the subject. It consists of four discourses with abundant and instructive notes at the end of each which amply repay perusal. It is well known that the Persians and the Indo-Aryans are the two offshoots of a mighty stem which originally stood on the central plains of Asia; add if

any proof is wanted, the striking similarities between the two bear ample testimony. In some quarters there is the lurking suspicion that the Indo-Aryan branch derived much of its cultural and traditional habits from the Persians, but the Swami is inclined to the opposite view.

Of the similarities ably dealt with by the author quoting chapter and verses, the most important are (1) Resemblance of Ahura-Mazda of Mazdaism to the Asuramarda or Narayana or Krishna of Vishnuism (2) the duality of karma in both named in Mazdaism as Spenta-Mainyu and Angra-Mainyu (3) the Ancient Self-Existent or the causeless Purana Purusha appearing in Mazdaism as the parent Zaravan Akarana (4) Comparison of the Trinity and of the six primary attributes of Para-Vasudeva. (5) Fire worship, etc. Mr. Govindacharya gives some customs common to both and among these may be mentioned Nadjote, Patet, Baghobhakta, Aramathi etc. of Mazdaism which correspond to Jathakarma or birth ceremony, Prapathi, Bhagavad Bhakta and Sri etc. of Vishnuism. Lists of comparative names occurring in the ancient works of both are also given. One interesting common idea which we notice is the *Kaka Sparsa* or *Crow touch* mentioned in the Bodhayana Sutra of the Hindus. This is a belief according to which departed *pithris* are supposed to receive offerings in crow form. We may also mention the depreciation of burial of the dead by both. The subject is a vast one and we have no sufficient time to review it in detail. We strongly commend the book to our readers.

V. S.

A Prospectus of a New and Critical Edition of the Mahabharata

(ISSUED BY THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.)

It will be like adding one more hue to the rose to attempt to prove the unique position which the MB. holds in the economy of Indo-Aryan culture and civilisation. No single work in the whole range of the world's classics has had and is having the wielding of such penetrating influence as the Mahabharata on the life and thought of peoples. The only exception is the power of the Bible in Christian lands. That such a work, nay, such a rich demesne wider and more expansive than Homer's *Pacific*, should yet continue to sport dark areas and unexplored recesses, is no compliment either to Indian valour or to its love of enterprise. The Kumbhakonam edition of 1910 is excellent in its way, in so far as it displays a genuine talent for comparative scholarship. But we have always felt its collation of various South Indian texts, though fairly exhaustive, lacking emphasis and thoroughness. Winternitz's International Edition, projected in Europe, is admittedly to be only a critical edition in the South Indian recensions. Besides, it is no disparagement to European Scholarship to state here that none but an Indian trained in methods of comparative criticism can do justice to a work like the MB. which is through and through an *Indo-Aryan* Epic, and means much more to the

Indo-Aryans than the *Iliad* ever did to the ancient Greeks, and the *Niebelungenlied* to the ancient vikings.

We welcome the announcement therefore of a comprehensive Indian edition, collated from all the extant MSS., about 1,300 in number, as a national work *par excellence*.

This gigantic undertaking is at present calculated, by the Board of Editors, to occupy in full the energies of a large number of scholars, honorary and salaried, for over fifteen years, and the expenses are put down at the rate of about Rs. 1,200 a month, nearly Rs. 3 lakhs in all.

Considering the indescribable importance of such a standard edition of the Mahabharata, than which there is no other single work extant to hold the mirror to the features for the real India of the Indo-Aryans, it is not too much to expect that the Institute's appeal for funds and for literary aid, will meet with a warm response at no distant date.

We are proud of the magnificent rally which the Ruling Princes of India, many of them descended from the heroes whose exploits are sung for ever in the greatest of the world's epics, made round the Flag of the British Empire when danger threatened it and civilization. The present undertaking, rightly understood, is of no less national importance, and the amount involved is so trifling comparatively that a single Maharaja can monopolise all the glory to himself, by subscribing to the Rs. 3 lakhs at once. But since we find the enlightened and patriotic Chief of Aundh has already declared his willingness to stand responsible, for meeting half of the expenditure, the other half should be underwritten within a very short time.

K. R.

An essay on the doctrine of the unreality of the world in the Advaita

BY FATHER G. DANDAY, S. J.

(3 and 4, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta).

THIS 65 page pamphlet comprises "two lectures delivered before the Indian Academy, St. Mary's, Kurseong. These lectures are here published because it has often been suggested to the writer that they might prove useful to a wider circle, especially to missionaries who have to deal with educated Hindus."

The following extracts from the introductory remarks are interesting as giving a clear idea of the points of contact and the differences between the Advaita and the scholastic philosophy.

"What a philosopher generally does is to take up a special point of view; to take his stand on a truth either more evident or more vital, from which he then surveys the whole universe. He insists on one or a few data which he explains fully and satisfactorily, and then integrates the rest in function of these primary factors.

"The special point of view is generally determined by the start-point of the philosophy.

"Thus in Scholastic Philosophy, as indeed in any purely philosophical system the greater number of the Hindu *darsanas* not excepted, we begin with the data of sense experience, we take as our starting point the visible, audible, tangible world in and around us. Then, making use of our reason and of its first principles, we attempt to explain the world by its ultimate causes, and thus ascend to the conception of God, whom we subsequently explain in function of the world.

"God, for our philosophy, is essentially and primarily the First Cause and the Prime Mover. Our reason for supposing His existence, our motive for predicating of Him certain attributes, is that this existence and these attributes follow as mediate or immediate conclusions from the existence of our starting point—the World.

"With the Vedantins, matters stand quite differently. The starting point with them is the Supreme, the Absolute. They determine first what the final, the infinite, the *ens a se et per se* is, and when they have stated His attributes, they try to explain the world in function of Him—or of It—who is unlimited, independent, and therefore unrelated.

"This difference of starting point leads to important consequences.

"We Schoolmen are never tempted to deny the existence of the world of sense. It is the very basis of our system. To suppress it would be tantamount to cutting the ground under our very feet. We shall rather waive anything than waive the world of experience, because to forego that would be to forego all. Parcels of reality may not fit well into our philosophical edifice; we will cut and remodel them or, better still, confess our shortcomings. Waive the reality of the world we cannot, because that is the corner stone, and if we remove it, our whole edifice crumbles.

"Our philosophy of God may in consequence be somewhat embarrassed and confused: one thing is certain, that a Creator is necessary to make our world intelligible, and a Creator we will have, even though it may be difficult to reconcile creation and creation in time with the infinite changelessness of a self-complete and self-satisfying Absolute.

"Quite different is and must be the attitude of the Vedantin. He starts with the Supreme and its attributes. The Supreme—whether you call it God or Brahman, matters very little just now—is and is infinite.

"Intelligence perfectly pure, fulness of joying, unlimited, unrelated, self-sufficient Being, it is all in all with nothing by the side of it. That is the thesis, the starting point, and the rest, if explainable, must be explained in function of this primary truth.

"We say: perish the rest, but the reality of the world must stand; the Vedantist says; perish the rest, but the Supreme must remain what it is, eternal, self-sufficing, unconnected fulness of being.

"Scholasticism is like Molinism, Vedantism like Banesianism. The follower of Molina sticks to human free will, which is a fact of direct human experience: no difficulty that may arise in reconciling with this thesis the omnipotence, infinite knowledge and universal causality of God shall make him move an inch from his original position, because it is, so he thinks, the right original position: human free will for him is the datum, the fact with which the rest must be reconciled.

"Banes starts from the notion of the all-powerful, all-knowing God who wills and does all, and the fact of human free will has at any cost to be reconciled with or adapted to that supreme self-evident proposition.

"For Molina free will is the thesis, God's omnipotence is the difficulty, for Banes the omnipotence of God was the thesis, the freedom of the will of man was the objection to be solved or explained away. And thus for Vedantism, God's self-sufficiency and His unrelated eternity is the thesis; this world of ours is the objection—whereas to the Scholastic philosophy, the existence of the world is the primary assertion and God's unconnected essence is the difficulty to be solved.

"This short preface was necessary to inspire us with a little sympathy for the greatest of the Indian philosophical systems. The short reference to Banesianism and Molinism is more than an illustration to the point: I might have insisted on it: greater simplicity, fearless logical development of a great truth, round assertions that will not square with facts, in both Banesianism and Vedantism; more subtle thought although apparently shallow, greater attention to all the data, and analysis more refined and more precise in Molinism and Scholasticism; This brief reference made to our own problems will suffice to make us feel a little for those who have been for centuries struggling with a difficulty from which hardly any philosopher has entirely escaped: *Non ignara malis.....* We must treat Vedantism as we treat Banesianism: we may not be able to refute it by a smart syllogism: Vedantism has stood more syllogisms, dilemmas and quibblings than our slow Western minds can well dream of. It has some solid ground to stand upon: there is hardly anything *positive* that it says about God that we may dare to reject. All that we may and can essay is to transcend its position and attempt to show that our synthesis of the created and the uncreated is both more reasonable and better founded in reality than its own. *On ne supprime que ce que l'on remplace.*"

Except the last ten pages which contain a short criticism, the rest of the pamphlet is devoted to exposition, where, it must at once be said, the author is clear and painstaking. He holds the Vedanta "essentially a theology—a philosophy based on revelation," revelation as to the changeless unity of Brahman, and its identity with the Atman. Starting as the Advaita does from this dogma, the everchanging multiplicity that is the world becomes 'inexplicable', justly attributable neither to the Maya of Brahman (because Maya can neither be God nor distinct from God), nor to the Avidya of Atman (for no illusion is possible if only God exists). "As a Philosophy, the Advaita must therefore be considered a failure. Instead of solving the greatest philosophical problem, that of the relation of the contingent to the absolute, it has simply denied it."

Father Dandoy in his criticism of the Advaita system makes use of most of the arguments already adduced against it by Sri Ramanuja, but ultimately his principal reason for rejecting the Advaita is its conception of causality.

We cannot go into his arguments as the space allotted to us would not permit; but we can strongly recommend this little pamphlet to the attention of all the followers of the Advaita as also to all who have made a special study of the Scholastic Philosophy.

We cannot close this short notice better than by quoting again the learned Jesuit, as this last quotation will show in what spirit this book was written. "We may render to the Advaita this testimony that it is a well-constructed system. If we once admit the first principle on which it is based, we must, I think, follow it to its ultimate conclusions. If we admit that effects are only their cause modified, and that in consequence, the world, if it be, is only a modification of the Supreme, we must also come to the conclusion that the world is not.

"We may indeed try to explain,—some have tried to explain it, how a multiplicity can arise in the Self-Subsistent, but as soon as we realise what the Self-Subsistent really is, we must realise also that it cannot be modified, that therefore the world which should, on the Advaita first principle, be a modification of it, is not and cannot be.

"And it is the glory of the Advaita that, alone among the Vedanta systems, it has maintained, even at the cost of the reality of the world, the true notion that the Self-Subsistent is absolutely unchangeable, without modes or accidents."

N. S.

JOURNALS REVIEWED.

The Indian Antiquary.

February 1919.

WE are in receipt of the Indian Antiquary of February last. As usual its interest for the antiquarian is considerable, and we have read this collection of Sir Richard Temple's and Prof. Bhandarkar's scholarly efforts with as great interest, frankly, as ever we remember to have read the Antiquary of the novelist Scott.

The volume contains a revised explanation of the terms *Nivā* and *Vineeta* of Indian Epigraphs by Mr. R. G. Basak, in view of the explanations rendered by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the XLVII volume of the Antiquary. Another contribution of remarkable interest relates to the study of the Ancient Geography of India by Mr. S. Majumdar, dealing with the pioneers in that study, and the sources of historical geography in India, classical, early-Christian, Arabic, and Chinese, the balance of the article being reserved for the next issue. Then follows a miscellanea by Mr. "S. V. Venkateswara"—(Iyer, we presume), denoting that the "*Satiyaputa*" of the IIInd Rock Edict of Asoka refers to Conjeevaram near Madras. The rest of the volume is taken up by the serial contribution of Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E. on

the dictionary of South Andaman Language, a tract which should be of much interest to intending travellers in that delightful island. The volume publishes a list of papers on hand pending publication, and we consider many of them to be of no mean interest.

G. R. J.

Indian Architecture

WE have much pleasure in acknowledging receipt of Volume IV, Part IX, of this fine contribution to research. At the outset we should like to state that the division of volumes and parts, and books in this publication are somewhat bewildering. To proceed, the first few pages before us deal with *entablatures*, *roofing*, and tower construction of Indian and Buddhistic religious structures, based on the antique Sanskrit manual on the subject,—*Manasara*—with an incidental account of Buddha and his cult. Illustrations are freely strewn about, and we see glimpses of structures, by way of illustration, which attract pilgrims to Kioto, Peking, Candy, and Nepal. Then comes a consideration of Christianity, on account of the fact that “the development of the new Christianity, and of the religion of Muhammad from the older Mosaic dispensation are parallels in Palestine and Europe to the Buddhist cult of India.” Hence “if we study closely the construction of some of the Churches of Europe, their evolution from the same starting points would be clear by a systematic analysis.” We have in this sections, illustrations of Westminster Abbey, Rheims and Cologne Cathedrals, and the Church of Nativity of Russia. The last section gives a brief survey of the strength and durability of building materials, explaining how “the different varieties of stresses that come into operation most commonly in structures are ‘Tension’, ‘Compression’, ‘Shear’, and ‘Torsion’, and giving other structural details with regard to stones, and lastly bricks.

The fourth volume is intended to close by December and then this fine attempt to place before Indians in written form, the architectural wealth, and residential possibilities of their country will come to an end. It is a good venture for the carrying out of which its authors deserve our thanks. It will be a valued book of reference on the subject. and we hope that all the big libraries in the world are in possession of it.

G. R. J.

A. G. O. on Sanchi Topes.

READ—the following paper:—

Letter—from the Hon'ble Mr. H. Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education.

To—the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

Dated—Simla, the 14th August 1919.

No.—226-A & E.

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Governor in Council and for such action as may be considered necessary, a copy of a memorandum * from the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India and of its enclosure on the subject of facilities for visitors to Sanchi.

* No. 2384-D, dated the 3rd July 1919.

ENCLOSURES.

(1)

Memorandum—from the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

To—the Political Secretary to the Government of India.

Dated—the 3rd July 1919.

No.—2384-D.

I submit the enclosed copy of a letter † from the Bhopal Darbar inviting visits to Sanchi, for such action as may be considered desirable.

† No. 12, dated the 18th June 1919.

(2)

Letter—from Lieut.-Col. Nawabzada Hamidulla Khan, Chief Secretary to Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

To—the Political Agent in Bhopal.

Dated—the 18th June 1919.

No.—12.

The Darbar, as you are aware, has in recent years given special attention to the important work of restoration and improvement which has just been completed at the Sanchi Topes under the personal care and supervision of Sir John Marshall. Sir John's work, which has received all possible assistance from the Darbar, has been productive of excellent results, and a visit to the site is a real pleasure in the present circumstances. All the debris has been cleared, lawns laid out, trees planted and the site improved in every possible way. The Topes which are a priceless relic of the olden times are well worth a visit and will amply repay visits of travellers and students interested in archæological remains. The Darbar would be immensely pleased if college students who take Ancient Indian history as their course for M. A. and other examinations should find it possible to pay occasional visits to Sanchi. The Government of India have recently afforded considerable facilities in respect of visits to the famous Buddhist remains at Sarnath and Gaya, and the Bhopal Darbar would also like it to be known far and wide that visitors would be most welcome at Sanchi and all possible facilities would be afforded. It would, in the Darbar's opinion, be a good thing if information to that effect could be conveyed to the Indian Universities and to the British Diplomatic and Consular Agents in China, Japan, Siam and other countries which claim large Buddhist populations, as it might have the effect of encouraging visits to the Topes in the preservation and well-being of which the Darbar is so keenly interested.

BOOKS ON INDIAN HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY, RELIGION Etc.,

History of Aryan Rule in India from the earliest times to the death of Akbar, by E. B. HAVALL, Illustrated, 15 s. Rs. 9—6—0, *Harrap.*

Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, by ANNANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 21 s. net, Rs. 13—2—0, *Harrap.*

Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists, by SISTER NIVEDATA and ANNANDA COOMARASWAMY, 12 s. 6 d. net Rs. 7—13—0, *Harrap.*

Stories of Indian Gods and Heroes, by W. D. MONROE, illustrated in Colour, 6 s. net Rs. 3—12—0, *Harrap.*

HANDBOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS, EDITED BY MORRIS JASTROW.

The Religions of India, by E. W. HOPKINS, 11/6 n, Rs. 7—3—0, *Ginn*

The Religion of the Hebrews, by J. P. PETERS, 15/n, Rs. 9—6—0, *Ginn.*

Introduction to the History of Religions, by C. H. TOY, 15/n, Rs. 9—6—0, *Ginn.*

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**THE VILLAGE DEITIES IN VELLORE TALUK,
NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT**

SENT BY F. J. RICHARDS ESQ., M.A., I.C.S.

[The following notes were prepared for P. S. P. Rice Esq., I.C.S., when he was Collector of North Arcot in 1907 by the then Tahsildar of Vellore, Mr. V. N. Narasinga Rao. They had been mislaid for some years and forgotten. When their rediscovery was brought to Mr. Rice's notice, he kindly accorded permission for their publication.—F. J. Richards.]

The village deities which are worshipped in Vellore Taluk may broadly be divided into three classes:—

- (1) Those which are worshipped in one village only.
- (2) Those which are worshipped in a group of villages, the annual celebrations of the festivities of the deity being conducted in the central village of the group.
- (3) Those which are worshipped on special occasions such as an outbreak of epidemic disease, etc.

For the sake of convenience these three sets of deities will be named "minor," "major" and "temporary" deities respectively.

In the first place, it is somewhat curious to notice that the deities of all the three classes are goddesses, and there seems to be no exception to this rule. This is probably accounted for by the fact that in the primeval stages of society, a relic of which is the worship of the deities of to-day, the mother was considered to be far superior to the father in point of kinship.

Almost every village which is over sixty or seventy years old can boast of a "village deity" or "gramadevata," such as Anaikolathal, Etti-amman, Chelliamman, Puvadai-amman Ponni-amman, etc., etc. Villages which have sprung up into existence in recent years have mostly no such deities presiding over them.

Amongst the major deities there are only two worshipped in this Taluk, namely, Chāmundi-amman at Periyanguppam, and Gangamman at Sathuvachari.

The temporary deities of this Taluk are Cholera Māri-amman, Smallpox Māri-amman and of late even Plague Māri-amman. Worship to these is resorted to whenever an epidemic breaks out in the village.

I. Minor Deities.

The celebration of the ceremonies connected with the minor village deities hinges upon first the personality of the person known as *Servaikar* (one who collects) and secondly the material prosperity of the village during the year. These celebrations are made once in a year when the people are generally free from want. In times of scarcity or famine, the celebrations are postponed for two or even three years. The major deities, however, are not affected by the fall in prices. Their festivals are gone through with scrupulous punctuality every year.

To the ordinary Hindu woman Fridays and Tuesdays are the important days in a week. It is somewhat curious to observe that the annual celebrations of a great many of the village deities commence either on a Friday or a Tuesday.

The ceremonies connected with the minor deities are as follows :—A few days before the festival day, which has to be fixed by the leading *Gaundan* of the village with the sanction of the village head, the *Servaikar* looks up the old subscription list of the village, and rewrites it for the current year. It will be a copy of the previous year's list with slight changes in the amount according to the prosperity of the ryot. He makes the collections from house to house, and keeps the amount so collected for the expenses of the festival. He is responsible to the general body for the proper use of the money collected, though very rarely is his integrity questioned. The *Servaikar* and some of his friends and relations go to the temple of the goddess accompanied by music. At the premises of the temple all

the people sit down, and the goddess is then anointed. There are two kinds of images in use in the temples. One of them is called the *Pidāri* and the other *Māri-amman*. The image of the *Pidāri* is the image of a woman in sitting posture and that of *Māri-amman* consists of the head only. The goddess is cleaned first with water, then with oil, then with milk, then with curd, then with a solution called the *Pancha-amirtham* and finally again with water. The body of the idol is then dried and a new cloth is passed round the image. It is then garlanded and the *pūjāri* worships it with flowers. The flowers are thrown over the idol one by one and the *pūjāri* utters a *mantram* for each flower. Throughout this period, the *pūjāri* or his assistant (generally his son) is playing upon the *udukkai*, a drum which resembles a tambourine. Generally also cymbals are sounded as the *Abhishēkam* or the anointment proceeds. After this part of the ceremony is over, the *pūjāri* invokes the deity to the accompaniment of a chorus of singers who are either his relations or who share the income with him. The invocation takes place either near the temple or at some prescribed spot in the direction from which the deity is popularly believed to have arrived at the village. In the latter case after the *abhishēkam* is over the persons present move in a body to the prescribed spot and then commence the invocation. This invocation, which to the persons present is a period of some anxiety, lasts from ten to thirty minutes, when all on a sudden one of those present gets inspired. The meaning of the invocation is a call to the deity to come and help them in their celebrations. The inspired attentively watches the goddess during the early stages of the worship. Later on, with closed eyes, he listens to the song of the *pūjāri* and his chorus. He goes into a counterfeit slumber, first shutting one eye, then the other, then nodding, then swaying so much on one side that the bystanders have to save him from falling. At last he collapses into the arms of one or more of his neighbours. He is watched very intently by all those present. The attention of the votaries is transferred from the goddess to the inspired man. All those seated around him move away from him and a space is cleared to enable him to move freely. Camphor is then burnt before him and the inspired man is moved either to speak or be silent or laugh or weep. The speaking and laughing are welcomed by the votaries with delight. They then ask him to grant them permission for celebrating the festival. Generally the permission is granted when he is either speaking or laughing. But if he should weep or be silent, that is taken as an indication of the wrath of the deity, and fresh songs are sung in louder tones to appease the deity. After a fairly long interval, when all become anxious about their own safety, and when the songs have been well-nigh exhausted, the inspired man is again approached with burning camphor. This time he is generally more

sympathetic. Very often he gives his unconditional assent for the celebration of the festival. But occasionally after according sanction to celebrate the festival, the inspired man lifts up his hand and points at some one whose conduct towards the community might not have been acceptable to them in the previous year. With some reluctance, the man pointed out seeks the forgiveness of the inspired man and is assured of it on his promising to sacrifice a sheep or a fowl. After permission to celebrate the festival is granted, the people present proceed with the celebrations. Wrist threads coloured with saffron with flowers tied on them are then put on by the *pūjāri*, the village washerman and a few other village menial servants, and, in some villages, the image of the deity is treated in the same way. Amongst those who wear the yellow coloured thread, the *Gaundan* or the headman of the village who governs the Sudras in their religious and social life, the *Servaikar*, the village potter, the village washerman and the village barber, who in villages is called the *kudipillai* to signify that he is the son of the community, figure prominently. At times one of these officiates as the "husband" of the deity, by the common consent of the others. In the town of Vellore, this right to officiate as the "husband" of the deity is vested in the *Toti* family of Vela-padi village, and the several members of the family enjoy the right in turns. During the period intervening between the day on which the yellow thread is donned and the day on which it is removed, the so-called "husband" of the deity is not permitted to return to his house nor attend to the avocations of daily life. He is fed sumptuously by the several members of the community and is bound to sleep in the temple of the deity and maintain celibacy. A new cloth steeped in yellow water is worn by the so-called "husband" of the deity and by the other persons who wear the yellow thread on their wrists. The difference between the so-called "husband" and the others is that the former enjoys all the advantages of a new bridegroom during the period of the festival. A pot is then taken up and a conically shaped *Karagam* is prepared. The *Karagam* consists of three parts, the lowest part is the pot, the middle part consists of bamboo sticks tied together and placed above the pot, and the topmost part is a ripe lime fruit. The *Karagam* is then wrapped as it were in a garland of flowers of various colours and green leaves. A yellow thread is also passed round the neck of the pot. This process of wearing the thread is known in Tamil as *Kāppu-kattuthal*. From the hour this *Kāppu-kattuthal* takes place, up to the last day of the festival the village is said to be kept under quarantine. No one can leave the village during the period, and if he is forced to leave the village under pressing circumstances, he is bound to return to the village before the last day of the festival. Omission to do so is said to be

attended with evil consequences to the defaulting villager. If by chance he accidentally falls ill, that mishap is attributed to the wrath of the deity. After the *Kappu-kattuthal* takes place, the people return to their own houses leaving the so-called husband and one or two others in the temple. The ceremonies connected with the first day are now over.

Between the initiation day and the day on which the festival is celebrated on a grand scale, there is an interval of three to fifteen days. During the intervening period nothing unusual takes place. The *Toti* publishes by beat of tom-tom in the village that the *Kappu-kattuthal* has taken place, that it will be over by a certain day and that no one should leave the village during that period. This is done immediately after the people return from the temple of the goddess and the proclamation is repeated every day both morning and evening. This is known as *ūrsuttruthal*.

During the period of quarantine some of the members of the Panisavan caste render assistance to the so-called "husband" of the deity and the villagers in general. They collect the meals from other houses and distribute them amongst themselves. The original word would appear to have been *Paṇisaibavan* (பணிசெய்பவன்) i. e., one who renders service.

The festival proper lasts for three days, the first and second of which are real gala days to the villagers. The first day is the *Pongal* day or the day of sacrifices. The sacrifices consist of either sheep, fowl or boiled rice or cocoanuts. The ceremony of sacrifice is called the *uranipongal*. On this day, early in the morning all the people contribute their quota of rice, and rice is boiled on a large scale and offered to the goddess. Prior to the offering of the boiled rice the deity is bathed (*Abhishēkam*) as was done on the day when it was invoked. After the *abhishēkam*, the *pūjāri* worships it with flowers repeating Tamil mantrams. Except at the *Avanākshiamman Kovil* near Karuchnagar, the mantrams are uttered in Tamil in the temples of village deities and invariably they are inaudible to the audience. This portion of the ceremony is called the *archanai*. After the *archanai* is over, the boiled rice is offered to the deity and along with it sheep and fowls are killed occasionally. The number of sheep sacrificed does not generally exceed two, whereas the number of fowls is fairly large in big villages. Camphor and other incense is burnt, and drums of all kinds, pipes and tambour are played to increase the grandeur of the occasion or inspire respect and awe in the minds of the spectators. The animals are sacrificed by the village *Toti* or *Talayāri* with instruments specially sharpened for the purpose. The head is removed from the trunk at one stroke and no cruelty whatever is practised in killing them.

After the general offering, every ryot of the village except the twice-born has to offer his own *pongal*. The sacrifices previously referred to are optional.

Sheep and fowl are sacrificed only by those who have made a vow to sacrifice them on account of some threatened mishap in their houses. The individual offerings of rice are not, however, dependent on such vows. All the Sudra residents are bound to offer them and take them away for their own use. The boiled rice offered after the *archanai* and the heads of the sheep and fowl executed are the perquisites of the *pūjāri* who gets a lion's share of them, and the village menials. Throughout the day the *Pongal* will be going on and will cease only at sunset.

The next day is the car festival day. A well formed bronze image of the idol is placed in a car immediately after the usual *Abhishēkam* ceremony, and the car is dragged through the several streets of a village by all the villagers. The *pūjāri* and the others who wore the *kāppu* on the first day will continue to appear in yellow garments and take active part in the car procession. The car will generally be preceded by drums and trumpets. In front of the car one of the villagers who has special pretensions to religious fervour carries the *karagam* on his head and entertains the people by vigorous movements to and fro without allowing the *karagam* to fall. His dress on such occasions consists of loose drawers which are prevented from slipping by a tape passing round his waist. Generally now-a-days a sash is used to keep it in position. The abdomen of this dancer is left open to public view. A piece of square cloth about a yard in diameter protects his back. The right hand holds a long sword and the left hand either a lime or green leaves in a piece of cloth. By pretending to let slip the *karagam* and by maintaining it in its original place on his head he entertains the villagers. Beyond sipping lime juice he is not allowed to eat or drink anything. As the procession consisting of drums, the *karagam* dancer and the goddess in the car passes through a village, sacrifices are offered to the goddess at all points where two streets cross. The sacrifices in this Taluk are fowls on this occasion owing to the absence of large villages where the people can afford to sacrifice sheep. As the goddess passes through the main streets of a village, at all the houses cocoanuts are broken and incense is burnt. The *pūjāri* is also given some pecuniary remuneration, but he cannot be sure of it in all villages. He is, however, entitled to retain for his own use the smaller half of the cocoanut presented to him for being offered to the deity. He generally manages to shelve it into a big basket kept by his side for the purpose. The car will go only through the main streets of a village, and will return to its original place of starting without stopping anywhere. It is considered a bad omen amongst the Hindus if the gods and goddesses have to remain in the streets even for a night in their car. Hence the place of starting must be reached before sunset under any circumstances. The ceremonies for

the day will be over when after reaching the place of starting a fowl or sheep is sacrificed and the *pūjāri* and others return homeward. In villages where a so-called "husband" has been appointed, that person is bound to sleep in the temple or near its precincts, for this night also. During the night a dramatic performance at the expense of the leading ryots of the village is given. The performance lasts generally from 10 p.m., till dawn, and the drama enacted now-a-days is a compromise between the rude country dance and the present day dramas.

The ceremonies for the next day are briefly done and there is no enthusiasm about them. The older people withdraw from the field and leave the task of finishing the celebrations to the younger generation. It generally happens that in some villages the car cannot be made to go through lanes and alleys. The people living in these lanes and alleys also contribute to the expenses of the celebrations and are entitled to have the goddess brought just opposite to their own houses. In such cases the bronze image of the goddess is taken on what is called *chapparam*, which at times can be placed on wheels, and if necessary carried by men on their shoulders. The *chapparam* is then taken to the streets which cannot be reached by the car. The *karagam* dancer is generally absent from the proceedings of this day, but he and his company join the celebrations when the goddess returns to the temple.

The last act of a village festival is reached when the goddess returns to the temple and when all the villagers muster together again. Amongst Brahmans the last day of a marriage is called the *Nāgavalli* and on that occasion all the near relations of the bride and bridegroom and a few of their friends join together in pouring yellow coloured water on the bridal pair and on the other members of the marriage party. Though this custom does not find favour with the more educated section of the Brahman community now-a-days, yet the institution has not been given up by them. The last day of the festival of the village deity is a day on which the Sudras engaged in the celebrations of the festival, bathe in yellow coloured water called "*Vasantham*". They afterwards go together to an adjoining pond, bathe themselves, and at times also the image of the idol, in clear water and meet together again at the temple. It is now that the village menials are rewarded with cloths. The yellow thread with saffron which they wore at the commencement of the festival is then removed, and the goddess is restored to her original place to enjoy undisturbed peace for another year. The *karagam* is in some villages thrown into the water, but generally the bamboo sticks are removed and the vessel used for drawing water in the temple. This is always the case when a copper vessel is used in place of a mud vessel for preparing a *karagam*.

The distribution of cloths takes place in some villages immediately after

the commencement of the festival and in certain others on the last day after the yellow thread is removed. The persons entitled to the receipt of the cloths are the barber, *Toti*, washerman and the *pūjāri*. The villagers return home in procession with flowers in their hair, preceded by music.

II. Major Deities.

As already stated, there are only two major deities in the Taluk and the festivals in honour of them differ considerably.

Gangamma jātra.—This is the goddess worshipped in Sathuvāchāri and the villages around Vellore Town within a radius of some four miles. The festival commences thus: On a prescribed date the *pūjāri* accompanied by the leading ryots of the village with drums and trumpets goes to the temple at about 8 a.m. The image of the goddess is anointed first with oil, then with sandal paste, then with saffron water and finally with *pinnakku*, etc. The *pūjāri* bathes again. Throughout the day he has to be fasting and must of course abstain from any kind of intoxicating drink. After this, the *pūjāri* marches a distance of ten yards towards the north, i. e., the direction of Tirupati, and addresses the goddess of Tirupati from Sathuvāchāri in a loud voice, while music is played. The invocation to the deity continues for at least half an hour. The *pūjāri's* party joins in the invocation. To suit the action to the song, the right hands of all the persons in the chorus are raised and lowered in token of calling Gangamma from Tirupati. One or other of the party present becomes inspired. The prayer is made to him that they should be allowed to celebrate the *Ganga-jātra* festival as usual without hindrance. The inspired man gives his consent for the celebration of the festival, which is obtained as in the case of the minor deities with burning camphor. The inspiration is the same as in the case of the minor deities. Soon after the grant of permission to celebrate the festival, a yellow thread is put on by the barber, and another thread is passed round a *karagam* prepared for the occasion. The *pūjāri* also puts on a yellow thread. All the parties then return home preceded by music. Permission having been granted it is the duty of the village menials to announce the grant of permission by beat of tom-tom in the village, both morning and evening. This is done regularly for a period of eight days. Both sides of the street are then decorated with "*toranams*," or cords hung with leaves, and the village is placed under quarantine as in the case of minor deities. If any one who was present in the village on the commencement day has necessarily to go out he must return on the last day lest harm befall him. The idol in the temple is worshipped by the *pūjāri*, and every day the *abishēkam* or the anointment is repeated. On the eighth day from the day on which permission was first granted the *pūjāri* has to repeat the *Kappu-kattuthal* (காப்புக்கட்டுதல்) for himself,

This is known as the *pūjāri's marukāppu* (மருகாப்பு). He has to wear a duplicate of the yellow thread on that day.

The festival proper begins on the eighth day after that on which permission to celebrate the festival is granted. It is on that day that the car procession takes place. Prior to the procession a grotesque image of the deity is prepared by the village potter on a raised platform near the temple. The trunk only of the image is set up on the platform on Tuesday. Its head is placed on a car and paraded through the streets. The procession begins at 11 A.M., and moves through the main streets of the village, circumambulating the village once. At about 5 A.M., on the next morning the head is taken from the car and placed on the trunk already set up on the platform, and the moment of the transfer of the head is looked upon as a very auspicious one. Simultaneously with the placing of the head, a sheep is sacrificed by decapitation, and the *Pongal* begins from that hour.

The *Talayāri* of Sathuvāchāri village helps the votaries in the sacrifice. Only sheep and fowls are sacrificed. The heads of the victims which must be severed by a single blow are all taken away by the *Talayāri* who distributes them amongst the other *Talayāris*, the washerman, the *Toti* and other menial servants of the village. The number of sheep sacrificed is about thirty and the number of fowls is nearly a thousand. It is not necessary that all the fowls should be killed; persons who have in the course of the preceding year taken a vow to offer the sacrifice and who are reluctant to shed blood are permitted by custom to offer their fowls to the goddess by waving them before the idol in a circle from left to right, and then to throw them upon the pandal erected before the temple. The *pūjāri* and other members of the temple committee appropriate the fowls thus offered and sell them by public auction the next morning. The proceeds of the sale go towards the expenses of the festival.

In addition to sheep and fowls, cocoanuts are also offered. According to legend, the sage Visvamitra attempted to create another world containing in it all that this world contains. While his new world was in process of manufacture, Indra and other deities requested him to refrain. He acceded to their wishes, but the things already begun by him were allowed to remain side by side with the creations of God. In place of man he is said to have created the cocoanut, the upper portion of the shell of which resembles the head of a man, with two holes in it, to represent man's eyes and a longer hole to represent the human nose, the fibre answering to the hair of a man's head. The breaking of cocoanut is considered to be a substitute for the sacrifice of a man and is largely resorted to by all the votaries.

Whenever the abovementioned sacrifices are offered, some small sums of money (generally an anna) and betel leaves and nuts are also offered. The

pūjāri retains the money, betel leaves and nuts and returns the rest to the votaries.

All these sacrifices are made on the day after the car festival day. The first sacrifice is at about 5 A.M. and the sacrifices continue till about 6 P.M. of the same day. It is called the *Pongal* day and is a regular gala day. Many persons take a vow to beg and offer their sacrifices by what they earn through begging. The beggars who take upon themselves that office temporarily are an insolent lot. The songs sung by them are extremely obscene. A peculiar kind of stilt dance is also performed that day by some of the votaries with several lime fruits hanging attached to their person by threads passed through their flesh. The dancing on stilts lasts from 8 A.M. to 6 P. M.

At 6 P.M. on the *Pongal* day, the head of the goddess is shifted from the clay trunk to its original place, and on this occasion also a sheep is sacrificed.

The next day an image of Parasuraman is taken in procession through the village and a number of the villagers go to an adjoining tank and bathe. These ablutions are termed *Vasantham* i. e., yellow water.

On the day after the *Pongal*, the *pūjāri* has his own *kāppu*. Two days prior to it various pulses are soaked in water and sown on small mud vessels with openings on both sides filled with soft clay obtained from ant hills. When these pulses have sprouted, the *pūjāri* takes them along with the goddess when he goes to the tank to perform his *vasantham* and throws them into the water before he takes his bath. The image is then returned to the temple and remains there for another year.

The bath concludes the festival. The *kāppu* or the yellow string is then removed and the village is then freed from taboo.

Chamundi-amman Festival in Periyankuppam.

Periyankuppam is a fairly fertile village three miles south of Āmbūr. The goddess is one of the family deities of the Mysore Rajas. Just as Gangamma is the wife of Venkatāchalapathi of Tirupati, so Chāmundi-amman is considered to be the wife of Siva.

The votaries to this deity come from Tiruppattūr Taluk and the villages around Āmbūr and the Malayālis of the Javādi and Elagiri Hills and Nakanāmalai also take part in them. The people of Vinnamangalam and Periyānkuppam are responsible for managing the celebrations. At about 10 P. M., on an appointed date in the month of *Māsi* (February and March) about five hundred people go to a tope near Periyānkuppam accompanied by music. A big clean sheet of coarse cotton (*duppatti*) is spread on the ground and a basket of *pori* (parched grain) is poured on it. Plantains, cocoanuts, saffron, kunkumam, betel leaves and nuts, etc., are placed on the bed sheet. The red powder (*kunkumam*) is sprinkled lightly over the *pori* and the invocation begins.

The invocation lasts for about half an hour during which music of all kinds is at full blast and fireworks are let off. At about midnight one of the company suddenly becomes inspired and after circumambulating the temple stops in front of it. The regular ritual of the temple now begins with anointing, burning of camphor, &c. Permission to celebrate the festival is accorded, and the people return home by 3 A.M., after distributing the *pori*, cocoanuts, &c. Some years ago, it is said, a horse grazing in the vicinity got terrified by the noise of the drums, &c., and after galloping round the temple thrice stopped in front of the entrance. The villagers attributed the horse's action to the inspiration of the goddess.

After anointing and before the people return, the *kāppu* is tied round the wrist of the *pūjāri* and the village is kept under taboo. The *kāppu* remains on the *pūjāri's* wrist for eight days. For six days the usual worship to the deity is attended to, and on the seventh day the *pongal* begins. On the sixth day all those who had taken a vow to offer something to the goddess present their offerings to the deity. These offerings consist of small images of horses, &c., and small umbrellas in silver or the model of a post in silver.

On the seventh day the votaries offer their sacrifices which consist of sheep and fowls. Along with the cocoanuts a large number of wood apple fruits are broken and distributed amongst the crowd. This ceremonial use of wood apple is most unusual. The number of animals sacrificed is smaller than that of Sathuvāchāri. The sacrifices continue till 3 P. M., when the *karagam* decorated with flowers is carried on a man's head and the procession goes through the streets of Periyankuppam. By 6 P. M. the procession is finished and all the people go to the temple and the Kankanavisarchanam (the ceremony of removing the yellow thread) takes place. The villagers return home with music after distributing new cloth to the *pūjāri*, the village washerman, and other menials.

III. Temporary Deities.

Epidemics which carry off the inhabitants in large numbers are believed to be due to the wrath of a particular deity and each epidemic has its own deity.

The cholera goddess is popularly believed to be the mother of the washerman. He is therefore chosen to officiate as the *pūjāri*, as the son alone can hope to succeed in propitiating such a fierce divinity.

A *karagam* is prepared and the village washerman bathes early in the morning and places it on his head holding a sickle in one hand and margosa leaves in the other, and he goes through the village dancing. Before the *karagam* procession takes place, all the villagers pour large quantities of *ragi*

gruel into the big iron buckets used for baling water. When two or three of such buckets are filled, the poor people of the village are fed. The washerman dances at the place where the food is distributed. After dusk when the procession passes through the village, sheep are sacrificed at the important centres in the village, and the blood collected in a mud vessel. The washerman with the *karagam* on his head goes on dancing through the limits of the village preceded by the village musicians. At the point where his village borders on the adjoining village, he places the *karagam* and the blood which had been collected at the different places of sacrifice, and returns home after taking a bath on his way. The goddess is believed to be propitiated by this and any further attacks of cholera are attributed to the perfunctory discharge of this duty by the washerman. The sacrificial victims are sheep only, and the method of sacrifice is decapitation. The deity is thus propitiated and carried beyond the village limits. The villagers of the adjacent villages in their turn carry the *karagam* to the border of the next village and in this way the *karagam* traverses many miles of country and the baleful influence of the goddess is transferred to a safe distance.

THE BRAHMAN HIEROCRACY AND THE BODY POLITIC

(By R. SHAMA SASTRY ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S.)

There is reason to believe that while immigrating into India, the Āryans carried with them those social, religious and political sentiments and customs which they had in common with their brethren, the Greeks, the Romans, and other branches of the Indo-European family. Leaving apart for the present their social and religious customs, I confine my attention chiefly to the consideration of what sort of political organisation they had at that remote period, and how it developed till the peaceful religious revolution of Jainism and Buddhism and the terrible inroad of the Muhammadans gave it a sudden shock, and diverted it into a new channel. It appears that when they entered India, they had no monarchical form of government and that the political tie which knit them together into a body for peace and war was the same as that of the Greeks and Romans, tribal or patriarchal form of government.

"There is no reason," says Henry Sidgwick in 'The Development of European Polity,' "to regard the father's power in the patriarchal family as the original type of political power; but doubtless the firm establishment of the patriarchal type of family contributed importantly to the stability and strength of tribal headship.*"

Whatever might be the earliest form of government which the Āryans had established among them, whether tribal, patriarchal, or republican, one thing is certain that it was only after they entered India that they organised a monarchical form of government as best adapted for their needs, at that remote period.

"People, suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one, first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects, and of being answerable for the sins of their subjects, when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated. Hence hermits, too, provide the king with one-sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that it is a tax payable to him who protects them."†

* P. 56, Ed. 1903.

† P. 26, Arthashastra.

The Mahabharata also supports the same view : *

"It has been heard by us that men, in days of old, in consequence of anarchy, met with destruction, devouring one another like strong fish devouring the weak ones in water. It has been heard by us that a few amongst them, then, assembling together, made certain compacts, saying whoever becomes harsh in speech or violent in temper or seduces or abducts others' wives or robs others of their wealth, should be cast off by us. For inspiring confidence among all classes of people, they made such an agreement and lived for some time. Assembling after some time, they proceeded in affliction to the Creator, saying 'Without a king, O divine lord, we are going to destruction. Appoint some one to be our king. All of us shall worship him and he shall protect us.' When thus solicited, the Creator told Manu to be their king. Manu, however, did not agree to the proposal and said :—'I fear all sinful acts. To govern a kingdom is very difficult, especially among men who are always false and deceitful in their transactions.' The inhabitants of the earth, then, said to him ; 'Do not fear. The sins that men commit will touch only those that perpetrate them. For the increase of thy treasury, we will give the fiftieth part of our cattle and precious metals and a tenth part of our grain."

From these two extracts it is clear that the monarchical form of government among the Hindus was of Indian origin, and that their political organisation prior to their immigration into India must necessarily have been one similar to that of the Greeks and Romans, tribal or republican in form.

At first, the political functions of the king, thus elected, seem to have been limited to collection of revenue and maintenance of a standing army to put down and drive out enemies and robbers. This view is supported by the following passages of the Atharva Veda :—

ये राजानो राजकुलः सृष्टा ग्रामण्यश्च ये ।

ऋपस्तीन् पर्णं मद्यं त्वं सर्वान्कृण्वभितो जनान् ॥

पर्णोसि तनूपानः सयोनिवीरो वीरेण मया ।

संवत्सरस्य तेजसा तेन बध्नामि त्वा मणे ॥

A. V. III. 5, 7 & 8.

"The kings and makers of the kings, troopleaders, masters of the horse,

Make all the men on every side, Parna, obedient to my will.

Thou, Parna, art my body's guard, man kin by birth to me a man.

With splendour of the circling year I bind thee on me, Amulet ! "

From the words 'troopleaders and masters of the horse' it is clear that ancient kings kept a standing army.

इनामिद्र वर्धय क्षत्रियं म इमं विशामेकवृषं कृणु त्वम् ।
 निरमित्रानक्षुण्णस्य सर्वास्तान् रंधयास्मा अहमुत्तरेषु ॥ १ ॥
 एमं भज ग्रामे अश्वेषु गोषु निष्ठं भज यो अमित्रो अस्य ।
 वर्ष्म क्षत्राणामयमस्तु राजेंद्र शत्रुं रंधय सर्वमस्मै ॥ २ ॥
 अयमस्तु धनपति धेनानामयं विशां विदपतिरस्तु राजा ।
 अस्मिन्निद्र महि वर्चांसि धेक्षवर्चसं कृणुहि शत्रुमस्य ॥ ३ ॥
 अस्मै चावा पृथिवी भूरि वामं दुष्टायां धर्मदुषे इव धेनू ।
 अयं राजा प्रिय इंद्रस्य भूयात्प्रियो गवा मोषधीनां पशूनाम् ॥ ४ ॥
 युनज्मि त ऊत्तरावंतमिद्र येन जयंति न पराजयंते ।
 यस्त्वा करदेकवृषं जनानामुत राज्ञामुत्तमं मानवानाम् ॥ ५ ॥
 ऊत्तरस्त्वमधरे ते सपत्ना ये के च राजन्प्रति शत्रवस्ते ।
 एकवृष इंद्रसखा जिगीवां धनूयतामा भरा भोजनानि ॥ ६ ॥
 सिंहप्रतीको विशो अद्भि सर्वा व्याघ्रप्रतीको व बाधस्वशत्रून् ।
 एकवृष इंद्रसखा जिगीवां धनूयतामा खिदा भोजनानि ॥ ७ ॥

A. V. IV. 22.

- "Exalt and strengthen this my prince, O Indra,
1. Make him sole lord and leader of the people.
Scatter his foes, deliver all his rivals into his hand in struggles for precedence.
Give him a share in village, kine, and horses and leave his enemy without a portion.
 2. Let him as king be head and chief of princes ; give up to him, O Indra, every foeman.
Let him be *treasure lord of goodly treasures*, let him as king be master of the people.
 3. Grant unto him great power and might, O Indra, and strip his enemy of strength and vigour.
Like milk kine yielding milk for warm libations, pour,
Heaven and Earth ! on him full many a blessing.
 4. May he as king be Indra's well-beloved, the darling of the kine, the plants, and the cattle.
I join in league with thee, Victorious Indra, with whom men conquer and are never defeated.
 5. He shall make thee the folk's sole lord and leader, shall make thee highest of all human leaders.
Supreme art thou ; beneath them are thy rivals and all, O king, who were thine adversaries.
 6. Sole lord and leader and allied with Indra, bring, conqueror, thy foeman's goods and treasures.

Consume, with lion-aspect, all their hamlets, with tiger-aspect drive away thy foemen.

7. Sole lord and leader and allied with Indra, seize, conqueror, thine enemies' possessions.

येन देवं सवितारं परिदेवा अधारयन् ।
 तेनेमं ब्रह्मणस्पते परिराष्ट्राय धत्तन ॥ १ ॥
 परीमामिद्रमायुषे महे क्षत्राय धत्तन ।
 यथैनं जरसे नयां ज्योक् क्षत्रेऽधि जागरत् ॥ २ ॥
 परीमं सोममायुषे महे श्रोत्राय धत्तन ।
 यथैनं जरसे नयां ज्योक् श्रोत्रेऽधि जागरत् ॥ ३ ॥
 परिधत्त धत्तनो बर्चसेमं जरामृत्युं कृणुत दीर्घमायुः ।
 बृहस्पतिः प्रायच्छत् वास पतत्सोमाय राक्षे परिधातवा ऊ ॥ ४ ॥
 जरां सुगच्छ परिधत्स्व वासो भवा गृहीनामभिश्शस्तिपा ऊ ।
 शतं च जीव शरदः पुरुची रायक्ष पोषमुपसंव्ययस्व ॥ ५ ॥
 परीदं वासो अधिधाः स्वस्तये भूर्वापीनामभिश्शस्तिपा ऊ ।
 शतं च जीव शरदः पुरुचीर्वस्वनि चारुविभगासि जीवन् ॥ ६ ॥
 योगे योगे तं वस्तारं बाजे बाजे हवामहे सखाय इन्द्रमृतये ॥ ७ ॥
 हिरण्यवर्णो अजरस्सुवीरो जरामृत्युः प्रजया संविशस्व ।
 तदभिराह तदु सोम आहं बृहस्पतिस्सविता तदिन्द्रः ॥ ८ ॥

A. V. XIX. 24.

1. " Do ye, O Brahmanaspati, invest for royal sway this man with that wherewith the deities invested Savitar the God.
2. Invest this Indra for long life, invest him for great princely powers that I may lead him on to old age, that he *may watch his kingdom long*.

3. Invest this Soma for long life, invest him for great hearing power that I may lead him on to old age, that he may watch over hearing long.

For us, surround him, cover him with splendour, give him long life, and death when age removes him.

4. This garment hath Brihaspati presented to Soma, to the king, to wrap about him.

Advance to good old age; endue the mantle; be thou our heifers' guard from imprecation.

5. Live thou a hundred full and plenteous autumns and wrap thee in prosperity of riches.

Thou for our weal hast clothed thee in this garment: thou hast become our cows' sure guard from curses.

6. Live thou hundred full and plenteous autumns, thou living, fair thyself *shalt deal forth treasures*.
7. In every need, in every fray we call, as friends, to succour us, Indra the mightiest of all.
Goldcoloured, undecaying, blest with heroes, dwell, dying in old age, with children round thee.
8. This is the spoken word of Agni, Soma, Brihaspati, and Savitar, and Indra."

It is evident that kings during the Vedic period levied and collected tax from the people (Visas) in kind and perhaps in cash also (A. V. IV. 22, 2 & 3) and distributed among their subjects whatever they plundered from their enemies (A. V. XIX. 24, 6). The word, 'Rajakritah,' 'makers of the kings,' (in A. V. III. 5, 7) is a significant phrase and implies that there was during those days a distinct body of people whose duty it was to elect kings and anoint them to be rulers of the ordinary people as distinguished from themselves. Election of a king seems to have been an usual custom during the Vedic period, as corroborated by the following hymn of the Rigveda :—

आत्वाहापमंतरेधि भुवस्तिष्ठाविचाचलिः ।
विशत्स्वा सर्वा वांछन्तु मा त्वद्राष्ट्रमधिभ्रशत् ॥ १ ॥
इहैवेधि मापच्योष्ठाः पर्वतइवाविचाचलिः ।
इंद्र इवेह भुव स्तिष्ठह राष्ट्रमधुराय ॥ २ ॥
इममिन्द्रो अदीधरत् भुवं भुवेण हविषा ।
तस्मै सोमो अधिप्रवत् तस्मा उ म्रह्मणस्पतिः ॥ ३ ॥
भुवा चौः भुवा पृथिवी भुवासः पर्वता इमे ।
भुवं विश्वमिदं जगत् भुवो राजा विश्वामयम् ॥ ४ ॥
भुवं ते राजा वरुणो भुवं देवो बृहस्पतिः ।
भुवं त इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च राष्ट्रं भारयतां भुवम् ॥ ५ ॥
भुवं भुवेण हविषामिसोमं नृशमसि ।
अथो त इन्द्रः केवलीविशो बलिहृतस्करत् ॥ ६ ॥

Rig. V. X. 173.

1. "Be with us ; I have chosen thee : stand steadfast and immoveable. Let all the *people* wish for thee : let not thy kingship fall away. Be even here ; fall not away : be like a mountain unremoved.
2. Stand steadfast here like Indra's self, and hold the kingship in thy grasp.
This man hath Indra stablished, made secure by strong oblation's power.
3. May Soma speak a benison, and Brihaspati, on him.
Firm is the sky and firm the earth, and steadfast also are these hills.

4. Steadfast is all this living world, and steadfast is this king of *men*.
5. Steadfast, may Varuna the King, steadfast, the god Brihaspati,
Steadfast, may Indra, steadfast, too, may Agni keep thy steadfast
reign.
6. On constant Soma let us think with constant sacrificial gift.
And then may Indra make the clans bring tribute unto thee alone.”*

The function of electing and anointing a king seems to have been the exclusive privilege of the priestly class, as is plain from the following hymns of the Atharvaveda:—

1. “ May Indra, Pushan, Varuna, Mitra, Agni, benignant gods maintain
this man in riches.
May the Adityas and the Visvedevas set and support him in supreme
lustre.
2. May light, O gods, be under his dominion, Agni, the Sun, all
that is bright and golden.
Prostrate beneath our feet his foes and rivals.
Uplift him to the loftiest cope of heaven.
3. Through that most mighty power, O Jatavedas, wherewith
thou broughtest milk to strengthen Indra,
Even therewith exalt this man, O Agni, and give him highest
rank among his kinsmen.
4. *I have assumed their sacrifice*, O Agni, their hopes, their glory, and
their riches’ fulness.
Prostrate beneath our feet his foes and rivals. Uplift him to the
loftiest cope of heaven.”

A. V. I. 9.

1. “The Being lays the sap of life in beings: he hath become the sove-
reign lord of creatures.
Death comes to this man’s royal consecration: let him as king own
and allow this kingdom.
2. Come forward, turn not back in scorn, strong guardian, slayer of thy
foes.
Approach, O gladdener of thy friends. The gods have blessed and
strengthened thee.
3. All waited on him as he came to meet them. He self-resplendent
moves endued with glory.
That is the royal hero’s lofty nature; he, manifold, hath gained
immortal powers.
4. Stride forth to heaven’s broad regions, thou, a tiger on a tiger’s skin.

* C/o A. V. III. 4.

Let all the people long for thee. Let heavenly floods be rich in milk.

5. Heaven's waters joyous in their milk, the waters of middle air, and those that earth containeth.

I with the gathered power and might of all these waters *sprinkle* thee.

6. The heavenly waters rich in milk have sprinkled thee with power and might.

To be the gladdener of thy friends. May Savitar so fashion thee.

7. These, compassing the tiger, rouse the lion to great joy and bliss. As strong floods purify the standing ocean, so men adorn the leopard in the waters."

A. V. IV. 8.

1. "I win the love of Indra that his friend may reach yet higher state. Increase, as rain the grass, this man's dominion and his lofty fame.
2. Confirm the princely power in him, Agni and Soma! Grant him wealth.

In all the circuit of his rule make him yet higher for your friend.

3. "The man who shows us enmity, whether a stranger or akin,

Thou wilt give up entire to *me who sacrifice and press the juice.*"

From the statements "I have assumed their sacrifice," "I sprinkle thee," and "who sacrifice and press the juice" in the above quotations it is clear that it is the priest who has given expression to such benedictions on the occasion of election and anointment.* The same idea is still more clearly set forth in the following hymns of the Atharvaveda:—

1. "Quickened is this my priestly rank, quickened is manly strength and force.

Quickened be changeless power, whereof I am the conquering President ;

2. I quicken these men's princely sway, the might, the manly strength and force ;

I rend away the foemen's arms with this presented sacrifice.

3. Down fall the men, low let them lie, who fight against our mighty prince.

I ruin foemen with my spell and raise my friends to high estate.

4. Keener than is the axe's edge, keener than Agni's self are they. Keener than Indra's bolt are they whose priest and president am I.

5. The weapons of these men I whet and sharpen, with valiant heroes I increase their kingdom.

* Compare also A. V. I. 30.

Victorious be their power and ever ageless! May all the gods promote their thoughts and wishes.

8. Loosed from the bowstring fly away, thou arrow, sharpened by our prayer.

Assail the foemen, vanquish them, conquer each bravest man of theirs, and let not one of them escape." *

A. V. III. 19.

While the prerogative of the priestly class to elect and anoint a king was unquestioned, its power for mischief also seems to have been equally great, as set forth in the following hymn of the Atharvaveda in which a priest calls upon the thunderbolt to fall upon a king for his tyranny, fancied or real:—

1. "This thunderbolt shall take its fill of order, scare life away and overthrow the kingdom.

Tear necks in pieces, rend the napes asunder, even as the Lord of Might the neck of Vritra.

2. Down, down beneath the Conquerors, let him not rise, concealed in earth, but lie down-smitten with the bolt.

3. Seek out the fierce oppressor, yea, strike only the oppressor dead.

Down on the fierce oppressor's head strike at full length, O thunderbolt; "

A. V. VI. 134.

The priests' voice regarding the restoration of an exiled king seems to have been also supreme, as is clear from the following hymns of the Atharvaveda:—

1. "Loudly he roared. Here let him labour deftly. Spread, Agni, over spacious earth and heaven.

2. Let Maruts who possess all treasures yoke thee. Bring him who reverently paid oblations.

3. May the hawk bring the man who must be summoned, from far away, in alien land, an exile.

4. May both the Asvins make thy pathway easy. Come and unite yourselves with him, Ye kinsmen.

5. Let thy opponents call thee back. Thy friends have chosen thee again.

Indra and Agni, all the gods have kept thy home amid the tribe.

6. He who disputes our calling thee, be he a stranger or akin, Drive him, O Indra, far away, and do thou bring this man to us." †

A. V. III. 3.

1. "To thee hath come the kingship with its splendour. Oh! shine as lord, sole ruler of the people.

* See also *A. V. VI. 5.*

† *C/o. A. V. VI. 75.*

King ! let all regions of the heaven invite thee. Here let men wait on thee and bow before thee.

2. The tribesmen shall elect thee for the kingship, these five celestial regions shall elect thee.

Rest on the height and top of kingly power : thence as a mighty man award us treasures.

3. Kinsmen, inviting thee, shall go to meet thee, with thee go Agni as an active herald.

Let women and their sons be friendly-minded. Thou, mighty one, shall see abundant tribute.

4. First shall the Asvins, Varuna and Mitra, the Universal Gods, and Maruts call thee.

Then turn thy mind to giving gifts of treasure, thence, mighty one, distribute wealth among us.

5. Speed to us hither from the farthest distance. Propitious unto thee be earth and heaven.

Even so hath Varuna this King asserted, he who himself hath called thee ; come thou hither.

6. Pass to the tribes of men, O Indra, Indra. Thou with Varuna hast been found accordant.

To his own place this one hath called thee, saying

‘ Let him adore the gods and guide the clansmen.’

7. The bounteous paths in sundry forms and places, all in accord, have given thee room and comfort.

Let all these in concert call thee hither. Live thy tenth decade here, a strong kind ruler.

A. V. III. 4.

The cause or causes which seem to have led to the banishment of an elected king are thus described in the following hymns of the Atharvaveda, in which a king in distress attempts to reconcile his kinsmen and people by means of sacrifice :—

1. “ Let Varuna come hither, Soma, Agni, Brihaspati come hither with the Vasus.

Unanimous, ye kinsmen, come united, come to the glory of this mighty guardian.

2. The inclination which your hearts have harboured, the purpose which hath occupied your spirits.

This I annul with sacrifice and butter. In me be your sweet resting place, O kinsmen.

3. Stand even here : forsake me not. Before us may Pushan make your path unfit to travel,

Vastoshpathi incessantly recall you! In me be your sweet resting place, O kinsmen."

A. V. VI. 73.

1. "Close gathered be your bodies; be your minds and vows in unison. Here present Brahmanaspati and Bhaga have assembled you.
2. Let there be union of your minds, let there be union of your hearts. All that is troubled in your lot with this I mend and harmonize.
3. As, free from jealousy, the strong Adityas have been the Vasus' and the Rudras' fellows,
So free from jealousy, lord of three titles! Cause thou these people here to be one-minded."

A. V. VI. 74.

1. "We bend your minds in unison, bend in harmony your hopes and plans.
You there, who turn to sundered ways, we bend and bow in unison.
2. I with my spirit make your spirits captive: these with their thoughts follow my thought and wishes.
I make your hearts submissive to mine order: closely attending go where I precede you."

A. V. VI. 94.

The questions of electing, banishing, and restoring a king besides other affairs seem to have been settled in an open assembly of the people, where the priest's voice seems to have been supreme. This view is clearly set forth in the following hymns of the Atharvaveda:—

ध्रुवोऽच्युतः प्रमृणीहि ध्रुव्यतोऽधरान्पादयस्व ।

सर्वा दिशः संमनसः सधोचिध्रुवाय ते समितिः कल्पतामिह ॥

A. V. VI. 88, 3.

"Firm, never to be shaken, crush thy foemen, under thy feet lay those who strive against thee.

One-minded, true to thee be all the regions: faithful to thee, *firm be this assembly!*

सभा च मा समितिश्चावतां प्रजापतेर्दुहितरौ संविदाने ।

येना संगभा उपमा स शिक्षाच्चारु वदानि पितरः संगतेषु ॥ १ ॥

विष्य ते सभे नाम नरिष्टा नाम वा असि ।

ये ते के च सभासदस्ते मे संतु सवाचसः ॥ २ ॥

एषामहं समासीनानां वर्चो विश्वानमाददे ।

अस्याः सर्वस्याः संसदो मामिद्र भगिनं कृणु ॥ ३ ॥

यद्रो मनः परागतं यद्वद्धमिह वेह वा ।

तद आ वर्तयामसि मयि वो रमतां मनः ॥ ४ ॥

A. V. VII. 12.

1. "In concord may Prajapati's two daughters, Gathering and Assembly, both protect me.
May every man I meet respect and aid me. Fair be my words, O Fathers, at the meetings.
2. We know thy name, O Conference : thy name is interchange of talk.
Let all the company who join the conference agree with me.
3. Of these men seated here I make the splendour and the lore mine own.
Indra, make me conspicuous in all this gathered company.
4. Whether your thoughts are turned away, or bound and fastened here or there.
We draw them hitherward again : let your mind firmly rest on me."

A. V. VII. 12.

There is no doubt that since such important questions as the election, banishment, and restoration of even the king were discussed and settled in the assembly of the people, the authority of the assembly (Samiti) was supreme, and that the priestly class had an important place in it. It is also clear that the king had a secondary place in the body politic and had to obey the mandates of the assembly. It is probable that questions of war and peace and of taxes and tolls were also discussed and settled in the same assembly.

It is to be noted that the one significant epithet which is found applied to the king throughout the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, and the Yajurveda is "Viṣpati"* or "Viṣāmpati",† lord of the agricultural and trading people, as contrasted with "Brahmanaspati", lord of the Brahmans or priests. The word "Viṣ" in all the Vedas invariably denotes agricultural and trading people and the latter word "Vaiśya" is a cognate of the same word. It follows therefore that the king, in virtue of his being only a Viṣpati, lord of the people, as distinguished from Brahmanaspati, lord of the Brahmans or priests, had no power over the Brāhmans. That the Brāhmans did not acknowledge the elected chief as their king, is clearly stated in the following passage of the Yajurveda :—

एषवो भरतराज सोमोऽस्माकं राजा I. 8, 10.

"This is your king, O Bharatas ; Soma is the king of us Brāhmans."

Mr. A. B. Keith remarks on the passage as follows :—

"The important feature of the whole is the fact that the king is sharply

* Rig. I. 26, 7; 27, 12; 37, 8; 60, 2; 128, 7;

VII. 7, 4; 55, 5; VIII. 23, 13; 25, 16; 60, 19;

IX. 108, 10; X. 4, 4; 135, 1.

† Rig. I. 36, 1; 44, 9; 65, 5; 70, 2; 94, 5; 96, 4; 112, 3; 121, 3; 127, 8. etc.

‡ Vide his translation of the Krishna Yajurveda, p. CXIII.

distinguished from the priests. The proclamation (the above passage) tells the people that so and so is their king; but the Brahmins add that their king is Soma. This distinction shows that for vedic India at least the connexion of royalty with priestly rank, if it ever had been a motive of the growth of the kingship, had long disappeared before the time of the Samhitas."

There is reason to believe, as will be seen later on, that instead of disappearing before the time of the Samhitas, the influence of the priestly class over royalty and the state assembly of the people continued till the rise of Jainism and Buddhism in India.* There is also evidence to believe that this political, social, and religious independence of the priestly class, peculiar to the Indian soil, seems to be Indo-European in origin, for both among the Romans and the Greeks a distinct priestly class seems to have been exercising some authority both over the kings and the common people:—

"In the age of kingship, as we saw, the functions of government were religious, judicial and military. These functions have now passed out of the hands of the king and belong to the magistrates and council of the *aristocracy*. Let us see how they might be used so as to favour the interests of the few as against those of the many. The secrets of the religion consisted of a knowledge of the ritual proper to each occasion; the knowledge, that is, of the art of keeping the human inhabitants of the city on good terms with its divine members. Every public act was accompanied by a sacrifice, and all sacrifices must be performed in exactly the right way. The sacrificial hymns must be rightly sung; the omens must be taken, the purificatory processions conducted exactly in the received manner, or the gods would not answer and bless. The whole life and happiness of the state depended on the proper performance of these necessary duties. Now in a state made up, as we have seen, by the union of lesser communities, each of which had its own peculiar worship conducted by its own noble family or families, it is plain that all these worships, now embodied in the state, must have remained in the hands of the aristocracy. The whole organisation of the states' religious life was theirs also. The regulation of festivals, of marriages, of funerals, of holy places and land belonging to the gods,—all that the Romans understood by the words '*jus sacrum*',—was theirs and theirs only. Thus we may be sure that in course of time there came to be a greater distinctness of outline of the position of the class to whom all the secrets and advantages belonged. While the state was not yet fully realised, while its elements were still in solution, this distinctness was less strong. But when the various elements of population came to face each other in the well-knit state, the idea of privilege

* Gaut. XI. 1 "The king is master of all except the Brāhmins."

began to make itself felt. The holders of the secrets which we have been describing, so soon as they began to use them for their own advantage as a class, would cease to be thought of as heaven appointed trustees, and would come to be considered as privileged."

The same fact is briefly stated by Mr. A. H. J. Greenidge in his *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History* :—

"We may now form some idea of the power of this nobility of birth. In most cases its members had won their territory by the right of conquest, and were the large land-owners in the states. Their special claims to honour were the exclusive possession of the sacrifices and higher religious rites of the state, the exclusive knowledge of its laws, and the sole possession of that citizenship which resulted from higher birth and from inherited wealth and culture. This was the rule of the best; and for a time these governments may well have been the truest aristocracies that the Greek world ever saw. It was not merely the position, it was still more the qualities which made these men at once priests, judges and soldiers that seemed unattainable by the common herd. Their rule had a divine sanction; but the theocratic element was not oppressively present; it was less obvious than at Rome, for the clan worship, exclusive as it was, was less baneful than the inscrutable knowledge of the priestly colleges of the Roman patriciate, which created a strong tie of interests between all the families of the privileged class, and professed to give rules for all things human and divine. In Greece the lay functions overshadowed the priestly character, and that status and merit were thought to be coincident is shown by the growth of a characteristic Greek conception, which in after days was barely eradicated from the most democratic states. This was the idea of 'Bananmia', primarily a military conception, dependent for its origin on the obvious fact that certain modes of life and the exercise of certain trades disqualify from prowess in the field. The artist and the artisan are equally exposed to the charge; agriculture is comparatively exempt; for, even when the master works on his own field, the life is one of greater leisure and of healthy influences. Even in these early days the word may have also implied the absence of leisure for the higher arts of peace, ritual, and law, and thus have formed the basis for the complex philosophic notion of a life that debars from all pursuit of the higher arts, politics and philosophy, by its continuous drudgery, its fixed boundaries, and the professionalism which drags the mind along a single narrow groove." *

While in the direct conflict brought about by religious and political revolutions in the west, this homeless aristocratic priestly class of both Greece

* 'Handbook of Greek Constitutional History' by Greenidge, pp. 21-22, Ed. 1911.

and Rome seems to have perished together with its exclusive possession of what the Romans called "Jus Sacrum" not to be heard of again, the Indian priestly class called the Brāhman seems to have carefully avoided direct conflict either with the kings or with the people, and thus preserved itself as a distinct privileged caste, though much abused and hated from the time of the Jainas and the Buddhists down to our own times. The rise of Jainism and Buddhism itself is evidently a protest against the old privileged Brāhman class. There are also a number of pamphlets and books* written by the Jainas so far back as the eleventh century of the Christian era, especially for the purpose of criticising the customs and sentiments of the Brāhmans.

There is no doubt that if, instead of adhering to the caste rule prohibiting them from the profession of weapons, the Brāhmans had taken up their sword against their political and religious opponents, just as the Greeks and the Romans of old fought against their tyrants and the early Christians, they would have been an extinct race. But they seem to have taken a different course. They seem to have preferred diplomatic dealing to open warfare. Their plastic character which seems to have enabled them to change or modify their views of life in accordance with the ever-occurring change in their environments and circumstances seems to have preserved their privileges which their self-denial, piety, penance, high thinking and simple living, and service of humanity earned for them, and which in the opinion of the people in the early stages they deserved.

The ancient Brāhmans seem to have been divided into two classes; those that lived in cities for the service of their king, and those that lived in hermitages in forests on the banks of a perennial river. The following passages from the Devibhāgavata give a vivid description of the typical hermitage of a hermit called Sumedhas and of the self-denying life which he and other hermits in that hermitage lived:—

“योजनत्रयमात्रे तु मुनेराश्रममुत्तमम् ।

ज्ञात्वा जगाम भूपालन्तापसस्य सुमेधसः ॥

बहुवृक्षसमायुक्तं नदापुलिनसंश्रितम् ।

निर्वैरदवापदाकार्णं कोकिलारावमंडितम् ॥ २२ ॥

शिष्याध्वयन शब्दाढ्यं मृगयूथशतावृतम् ।

नीवारान्नसुपकाढ्यं सुपुष्पफलपादपम् ॥ २३ ॥

होमधूमसुगंधेन प्रातिदि प्राणिनां सदा ।

वेदध्वनिसमाक्रांतं स्वर्गादिपि मनोहरम् ॥ २४ ॥

* Amitagati's "Dharmapariksha", and "Devijavanachapeta", the former printed in Bombay and the latter still a manuscript No. B. 187, Oriental Library, Mysore.

दृष्ट्वा तमाश्रमं राजा बभूवासो मुदान्वितः ।
 भयं त्यक्त्वा मर्ति चक्रे विश्रमाय द्विजाश्रमे ॥ २५ ॥
 आसज्य पादपेऽद्वं तु जगाम विनयान्वितः ।
 दृष्ट्वा तं मुनिमासीनं सालच्छायासु संश्रितम् ॥ २६ ॥
 मृगाजिनासनं शांतं तपसाति कृशं क्रजुम् ।
 अध्वापयंतं शिष्यांश्च वेदशस्त्रार्थदर्शिनम् ॥ २७ ॥
 रहितं क्रोधलोभाद्यैः द्वेदातीतं विमत्सरम् ।
 आत्मज्ञानरतं सत्यवादिनं शमसंयुतम् ॥ २८ ॥

राजोवाच—

सुरथो नाम राजाहं शत्रुभिश्च पराजितः ।
 त्यक्त्वा राज्यं गृहं भार्या अहं ते शरणं गतः ॥

ऋषिरवाच—

निर्भयं वस राजेंद्र नात्र ते शत्रवः किल ।
 आगमिष्यंति बलिनो निश्चयं तपसो बलात् ॥ ३७ ॥
 नात्र हिंसा प्रकृत्या वनवृत्त्या नृपोत्तम ।
 कर्तव्यं जीवनं शस्त्रैर्नीवार फलमूलकैः ॥ ३८ ॥*

“ Having recognised the hermitage of the devote sage called Sumedhas at the distance of three Yojanas, the king (Suratha by name) went to it. Full of a number of trees and situated on the sandy bank of a river, full of tamed wild beasts, pleasing with the songs of the cuckoo, resounding with the voice of students studying their lessons, full of hundreds of antelopes, with dishes of well-cooked wild rice, abounding in trees of sweet flowers and fruits, causing pleasant feelings to all with the sweet smelling smoke of oblations made into the fire, echoing the sounds of Vedic hymns recited, and more charming than even the abode of the celestials—having come in view of such a hermitage, the king was much pleased. Having renounced all fear, he made up his mind to take rest in that happy retreat of the Brâhman sage. Having tied his horse to a tree close by, and having seen the sage, seated on a deer skin under the shadow of a Sâla tree, with tranquil mind, with his body emaciated by the observance of penance, open hearted, teaching the Vedas to a number of students, learned in the Vedas, Shastras, and their secret meanings, devoid of anger, greed and other passions, free from the trouble of opposite worldly affections such as heat and cold, etc., devoid of jealousy, ever bent on attaining the knowledge of the soul, speaking the truth and having his mind under control, the king went to him with modesty and said”—

“ I am a king, Suratha by name, and having been defeated by my foes, I

gave up my country; house and wife and came here seeking your protection."

The sage replied :—

"Reside here, O king, with no fear ; none of your mighty enemies will ever step here, scared by the power of my penance. No animals should be slaughtered here ; following the custom of the hermits, O best of the kings, life should be sustained here with wild rice, fruits and roots." *

It is clear from the above passage that the hermitages of ancient Brāhmans were invariably situated in an extensive forest tract on the banks of one or other perennial river, congenial to the growth of flowers, fruits, roots and wild rice. They were a sort of University full of professors ready to teach and students eager to learn. They were each an asylum for the afflicted, either in body or mind or in both, who, for the alleviation of their physical or mental infirmities, sought remedies at the hands of the sages in the hermitages. They were a safe retreat for kings defeated in the battle fields and chased by their bloodthirsty conquerors. Once within the boundaries of the hermitage, the runaway kings were safe, as their terrible enemies dreaded the power of the penance of the hermits. The hermitages may be termed as cities without walls or police for protection ; in fact they heeded no such things, for the hermits had neither gold nor granaries of grain in their possession. They had no worldly things to lose and had therefore no fear from worldly enemies. Their food was simple and consisted of wild rice, fruits, and roots as stated by the sage.

There is evidence to believe that there were hermits for whom even flesh was one of the articles of diet. Regarding the dietary of the hermits the Baudhyana Smṛiti says as follows :—

"अथ वानप्रस्थद्विविध्यम् । पचमानका अपचमानकाश्चेति । तत्र पचमानकाः पंचविधाः । सर्वाण्यका वैतुषिकाः कंदमूलफलभक्षाः फलभक्षाः शाकभक्षाश्चेति । तत्र सर्वाण्यका नाम द्विविधा द्विविधमारण्यमाश्रयतः इंद्रावसिक्ता रेतोऽव सिक्ताश्चेति । तत्र इंद्रावसिक्ता नाम वल्लीगुल्मलतावृक्षाणामानयित्वा श्रपयित्वा सायं प्रातरग्निहोत्रं हुत्वा यत्प्रतिष्ठिं प्रतिभ्यश्च दत्त्वाऽथेतरच्छेषभक्षाः । रेतोवसिक्ता नाम मांसं व्याघ्रवृकशैनादिभिरन्यतमेन वा हतमानयित्वा श्रपयित्वा सायं प्रातरग्निहोत्रं हुत्वा यत्प्रतिष्ठिं प्रतिभ्यश्च दत्त्वाऽथेतरच्छेषभक्षाः । वैतुषिकास्तु पाधान्यवर्जं तंडुलानानयित्वा श्रपयित्वा सायंप्रातरग्निहोत्रं हुत्वा यत्प्रतिष्ठिं प्रतिभ्यश्च दत्त्वाऽथेतरच्छेषभक्षाः । कंदमूलफलशाकभक्षाणामप्येवमेव । पंचैवापचमानकाः । उन्मज्जकाः प्रवृत्ताशिनः मुखेनादायिनः तोयाहाराः वायुभक्षाश्चेति । तत्रोन्मज्जका नाम लोहाश्मकरणवर्जम् । हस्तेनादाय प्रवृत्ताशिनः । मुखेनादायिनो मुखेनाददते । तोयाहाराः केवलं तोयाहाराः । वायुभक्षा निराहाराश्चेति ।
मृगैस्सह परिस्पंदः संवासस्तेभिरेव च । तैरेव सदृशी वृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षं स्वर्गक्षणम् ॥"

Bandha. III. 3.

* The hermitage of Rishyasringa, Mahabharata Vana. III ; that of Mārkaṇḍeya, Maha. Vana 130 ; and Bādarīnatha, Vana 147. Also the hermitage of Kanva in the first and fourth acts of Śākuntala of Kālidāsa and that of Vasiṣṭha in the first canto of Raghuvamśa,

" Then there are two kinds of hermits : those that cook their food and those that do not cook their food. Those that cook their food are of five kinds : (1) Sarvānyaka, (2) Vaitushika, (3) Kādamūlaphalabhaksha, (4) Phalabhaksha, and (5) Śākabhaksha. The Sarvānyakas are of two kinds (1) Indravasikta and (2) Retovasikta, as they live upon two kinds of forest products. The Indravasiktas are those who bring edible stuffs produced by creepers, plants, shrubs and trees and cook them, and having offered oblations thereof into the fire both morning and evening and having fed ascetics, guests, and other persons engaged in penance therewith, live upon what remains thereof. The Retavasiktas are those who gather the flesh of wild animals killed by a tiger, wolf, hawk, or any other beast of prey, and cook it ; and having offered oblations thereof into the fire both morning and evening and having served ascetics, guests, and other persons engaged in penance therewith, live upon what remains thereof. The Vaitushikas are those who, collecting grains without chaff and especially rice, cook them ; and having offered oblations thereof into the fire both morning and evening, and having fed ascetics, guests, and other persons engaged in penance therewith, live upon what remains thereof. Those who live upon turnips, roots, and fruits, or upon fruits only or upon herbs only do also likewise.

Those that do not cook their food are of five kinds : (1) Mumajjakas, (2) Pravrittāsins, (3) Mukhādāyins, (4) Toyaharas, (5) Vayubhakshas. The Mumajjakas are those who prepare their food without making use of metallic or stone vessels. The Pravrittāsins are those who live upon morsels held in their hands. Mukhādāyins are those who catch hold of their food by their mouth without using their hand. The Toyaharas are those who live merely upon water. The Vayubhakshas are these who live only upon the air.

Life's activity with the antelopes and constant association with them alone ; living exactly similar to that of the antelopes : this is the characteristic of heavenly life on earth."

It is clear from the above passage that a majority of the hermits lived upon vegetable food, or upon animal flesh which they procured either by hunting or by slaughtering animals in their frequent animal sacrifices, without owning lands for agriculture and without employing themselves either in industry or in trade of any kind. Hence their exemption from taxes due to the state.

It should not however be supposed that as the hermits had possessed no wealth, they had no criminals among them. It is more than probable that though they had no fear from external criminals, there were some black sheep among themselves, who, yielding to temptations, committed sins within or without the hermitage. In order to put down sins among themselves,

they seem to have devised a number of penances (prāyaschittas) according to the gravity of crimes committed. The Vasishtha Smṛiti mentions three kinds of sinners and three kinds of magistrates for punishing them :—

गुरुरात्मवतां शास्ता शास्ता राजा दुरात्मनाम् ।

इह प्रच्छन्नपापानां शास्ता वैवस्वतो यमः ॥

Chap. XXI, Verse 3.

“The teacher is the punisher of such sinners as are tractable; the king is the punisher of the wicked; and Vaivasvata Yama, the god of death, is the punisher of those who hide their evil deeds.”

It is probable that the king was not allowed to exercise his magisterial functions over the criminals of the hermitage. This is implied in the following Sutra of Apastamba :—

आचार्य ऋत्विक्स्नातको राजेति त्राणं स्युरन्यत्र बध्नात्.”

Ap. Dharma. II. 10, 27, 21.

“A spiritual teacher, an officiating priest, a learned holy man observing penance and a prince shall be able to protect a criminal from punishment by their intercession except in case of a capital offence.”

In virtue of its self-denial, piety, penance, learning, and service of humanity, the priestly independence with no liability to taxation and punishments for crimes committed seems to have been reluctantly allowed to pass for a time, for there is evidence to believe that there were kings who questioned this right of the Brāhmins and resented it. The Vishnu Purāna, for example, says that Vena caused it to be everywhere proclaimed that no worship should be performed, no oblations offered and no gifts bestowed upon the Brāhmins.* The customary right of the Brāhmins to beget a king on an appointed queen seems to have also added to the fury of the kings against the priestly class.† Whether this custom was in observance in all the states or in a few states is a question which it has not been possible to determine; perhaps it was a local custom observed in a few states. Anyhow it was a factor to enrage the kings concerned against their own priests in the first place and to prejudice the Kshatriya class as a whole against the priestly class in general. This explains the civil war that is stated to have broken out between Visvāmitra and Vasishtha and Kartaviryarjuna and Parasurama, which, as I have stated in my *Essay on the Evolution of Castes*, ended in the defeat of Praśurāma. The question was: which should be the supreme power in the land, whether Kshātra or Brāhma, royal power or priestly power? For a time the priestly class seems to have held the upper hand, as corroborated by the admission to which humiliated

* Vishnu. Book I. Chap. XIII.

† See part II of my *Essay on "Evolution of Castes"*: Journal of the Mythic Society, 1916.

Viśvāmitra is made to give expression : " Ah ! warriors, strength is poor and slight : A Brāhman's power is truly might." * This ascendancy of the Brāhmins over the ruling class seems to have been due to the high respect which the Viśās or common people paid to the Brāhmins in consideration of their self-denial, piety, penance, and spiritual learning. It was evident therefore that unless the warriors could convincingly wrest that power from the priestly class, they could not easily conquer them. Hence Mahāvira, a Kshatriya king of Magadha, and Buddha, another prince of Kapilavastu near the Himalayas, seem to have taken upon themselves the task of conquering the Brāhmins in the field of spiritual learning. Denouncing the teachings of the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices attended with the slaughter of animals, Mahāvira seems to have won the people to his side by inculcating to them the efficacy of piety, and penance, and insisting upon their desisting from " the iniquitous massacre of animals for sacrifice." † Buddha went further. Not satisfied by merely pointing out the hollowness of the claims of the priestly class for their self denial, penance and spiritual learning, he proclaimed the service of humanity as the best religious worship that man can practise on earth, and thus wrested the heart of the people from the clutches of the Brāhmins. " The son of Suddhodana," says the Agnipurāṇa, " was a delusive devil incarnate. He deluded the wicked and turned them away from the vedic rites. They became Buddhists and abandoned the Vedas." ‡ The means which he employed to win the people to his side seems to be the service of humanity, which consisted in the construction of feeding houses for the poor, of hospitals for the infirm, whether men or beasts, of roadside wells and avenue trees for water and shade and in pointing out the sin of slaughtering animals for food, all which is abundantly clear from the following edicts of Aśoka:—

" Formerly, in the kitchen of his Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries. But now, when this pious edict is being written, only three living creatures are slaughtered daily for curry, to wit, two peacocks and one antelope, the antelope however, not invariably. Even those three living creatures henceforth shall not be slaughtered." §

" Everywhere has His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King made curative arrangements of two kinds, curative arrangements for men and curative arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also, wholesome for men and wholesome for beasts, whenever they were lacking, everywhere have been both imported and planted. Roots, too, and fruits, wherever they were

* Rāmāyana I. 56, 23.

† Vishnupurāṇa 3 III 18.

‡ Agni XVI. 2—3.

§ Edict 1.

lacking, have been both imported and planted. On the roads both wells have been caused to be dug and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast." *

" Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King :—On the roads, too, I have had banyan trees planted to give shade to man and beast ; groves of mango trees I have had planted ; at every half kos, I have caused wells to be dug ; rest houses have been erected and numerous watering places have been provided by me here and there for the enjoyment of man and beast." †

" Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King :—These and many other high officers are employed in the distribution of the royal alms, both my own and those of the Queens ; and in all the royal households, both here and in the provinces, these officers indicate in divers ways the manifold opportunities for charity." ‡

This is not the place for dwelling at length on the moral and philosophical teachings of the Jainas and the Buddhists. The form of the high moral precepts which the Buddhists taught to the people at large can be easily learnt from a perusal of the edicts of Aśoka. Their philosophical systems which are mainly based upon the teachings of the Upanishads and the Sāṅkhya system of Kapila are also clearly explained in a number of books already printed and published. It is, however, to be noted that a major portion of the Upanishads is the work of kings and Brāhmins dissatisfied with the Vedic pantheon and evidently a protest against the Vedic animal sacrifices. Still what struck a death blow to the independent hierocracy of the Brāhmins is neither the high moral teachings of the Jainas and the Buddhists nor their agnostic philosophy based upon the Sāṅkhya system, but the religion of the service of humanity, as proclaimed in the edicts of Aśoka quoted above. As has already been shewn, the hermitages of the Brāhmins were remote from populous centres, and those who had to go to one or other of these hermitages in quest of learning or for the alleviation of their bodily or mental ailments had to quit their houses and their families and reside in the open air in the hermitage for a shorter or longer period according to their requirements. The life which they had to live was in fact a new departure from their usual town or village life and was more or less a forest life exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. But now there arose a new order of priests, the order of the Jaina and Buddhist monks, who, unlike the Brāhmins, made towns and villages the centre of their activity for the service of humanity. Instead of requiring the needy to go so

* Edict II.

† Edict V.

‡ Edict VII.

far as distant forests for the satisfaction of their wants, the monks took themselves to the very houses of the needy and provided them with whatever they needed, food, clothing, medicine, or moral or philosophical teaching for getting rid of transmigration and the attainment of Nirvāṇa or final emancipation. For this the monks had the ready support of the kings and the rich, and the country abounded with rest houses to deal out alms to the needy. Besides bringing a good deal of relief and happiness not only to man but also to beasts and birds, this new humanitarian religion brought peace and friendship to kings mutually at war with each other. This peace is what is termed as "the chiefest conquest," by Aśoka in his 13th Edict :—

" His Majesty King Priyadarsin in the ninth year of his reign conquered the Kālingas. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished. Ever since the annexation of the Kālingas, His Majesty has jealously protected the law of piety, has been devoted to that law and has proclaimed its precepts.

The conquest which has thereby been everywhere effected causes a feeling of delight. Delight is found in the conquest made by the Law. . . ."

This conquest, while bringing peace and happiness to both kings and people alike, seems to have caused a good deal of heart-burn to the priestly class which it adversely affected. It seems to have pulled it down from the high pedestal of respect which it occupied in the eyes of the people. Now that the people were provided with more than they used to receive at the hands of the priests, each and every hermitage must necessarily be denuded of all sorts of pilgrims. Except a few hermits with a few Brāhman students and followers, there seem to have resided temporarily or permanently no other people in any of the hermitages. What the priests perhaps once regarded as their own unassailable intellectual and spiritual power was now assailed, root and branch. It was a moral conquest on the part of the Jainas and the Buddhists of the Kshatriya class and a moral defeat to the Brāhmins. Neither the kings and the Kshatriyas nor the people would pay respect to them ; nor could the Brāhmins claim that respect which they once received from the people and which the new order of monks deservedly claimed and enjoyed. The power with which the Jainas and the Buddhists secured a moral conquest over the Brāhmins lay in the provision which they with the help of the kings and the rich of the land made for establishing alms-houses, hospitals and other charitable institutions for the alleviation of the miseries of both man and beast. This is what the Brāhmins could not do unless they secured the good will of the kings and the rich, As has already been pointed out,

kings had reason enough to dislike, if not to hate, the Brāhmins. It follows therefore that the Brāhmins must have lost all the privileges which they had unquestionably enjoyed till then. They had to lose their right of electing, banishing, restoring, and anointing a king; they had to lose the power of persuasion over the members of the state assembly of the people; they had to lose their right of inheriting the property of others on the failure of heirs;* the six immunities† such as exemption from corporal punishment, from taxes, hunger, sickness, cold and heat due to want or otherwise must have been also lost to them. All this serious loss of long cherished rights and prerogatives, nay, of popular help, maintenance and even respect was evidently due to the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, and to the conversion of the kings to either of these two new faiths. It needs no saying that the fury of the Brāhmins against the Jainas, the Buddhists, and the kings rose to its highest pitch. Weapons they could not take, for war was a prohibited profession for the Brāhmins. How could they expect success for the few in a war against many? Others under these circumstances would have either perished in despair or died in a civil war. But the Brāhmins were clever enough to follow a course which seemed to them not merely destined to restore them to their lost power, but powerful enough to put an end to the new inimical faiths. It was political intrigue, and sowing the seeds of dissension among the kings so as to cause them to take up arms against each other for their own extinction. There was a good opportunity for the exercise of the keen intellect of the Brāhmins in the science of politics. The one weak point of the Buddhists much in favour of the Brāhmins was their entire abstention from war and manslaughter attending upon it. In the *Chatuśśatikā* of Āryadeva, a Buddhist work, war is thus condemned :—

“ It may be said that the king who even slays men in accordance with Dharma laid down by the Rishis does not commit unrighteousness. To this the reply is that wise men should not conform to all the doings of Rishis, since even among them the qualities of low, intermediate, and high exist. (IV. 89). It is said of a king who strikes at an enemy through a loop-hole, there is no unrighteousness, since it is so enjoined in the Śāstras. To this the reply is that if to a king who strikes at his enemy through a loop-hole sin does not accrue, it cannot overtake other thieves from beforehand. (IV. 91). It may be said that the king who overcomes his foes in the forefront of battle and beholds the store of wealth acquired by his own prowess and strength derives great satisfaction; and that if he dies in battle, he surely

* Gaut. XXVIII. 41; Vasishtha XVII. 84-85.

† Gaut. VIII. 12, 13; Band. I. 10-18; Āpa. II. 10-25.

attains heaven through his self-abnegation. To this the reply is that the sacrifice of one's possessions in wine and such things is not commended, how then can the sacrifice of self even in war be commended?"¹ (IV 92).

Another weak point which seems to have caused much injury to the cause of Buddhism was their adherence to the principle of elective monarchy as it was in practice during the Vedic period. The principle of elective monarchy is thus described in the *Ulūka Jātaka* :—

"Once upon a time, the people who lived in the first cycle of the world gathered together and took for their king a certain man, handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect."²

The same principle is also given in the form of a story in Rockhill's *Life of Buddha* :—³

"Let us, in view of what has just happened, assemble together, and choose from out our midst those who are the finest-looking, the largest, the handsomest, the strongest, and let us make them lords over our fields and they shall punish those of us who do what is punishable, and they shall recompense those of us who do what is praiseworthy, and from the produce of our fields and of the fruits we gather we will give them a portion."

Desirous of handing over their kingdoms to their own sons, the ancient kings of India seem to have resented this elective system and often violated it by force of arms, as is clear from the accounts given in the *Purāṇas* of eldest princes inheriting the kingdoms from their fathers.⁴ While these two weak points of the Buddhists together with their partiality for republican⁵ forms of government and their lack of respect to royal personages whom they regarded as merely men of high capacity had incapacitated almost all the Buddhist kings both for offensive and defensive operations, they seem to have also displeased some other kings who, adhering to the old Vedic religion, hated the elective system of monarchy and kept aloof from Buddhism.

The Brāhmins seem to have readily seized this golden opportunity to regain their power and to put an end to the upstart religious faiths. All that they had to do was to abandon the old elective system of monarchy by declaring the right of the eldest prince to inherit the kingdom from his father and by regarding the king's person inviolable and sacred. Accordingly mention is made in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* of succession of the eldest sons to the kingdom on the principle of inheritance.⁶ Though the *Arthashastra*

1 *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 8.

2 *Jātaka Tales*, Vol. II, p. 249; Cowell's Ed.

3 P. 6, Trubner's Oriental Series.

4 Vide *Vishnupurāṇa*, Book IV. Dynasties of kings.

5 See Rhys Davids' Translation of the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part II, pp. 79-80; also Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, pp. 124-125.

6 Book I, Chap. XVII, p. 40.

attaches no sanctity to the king's person, persons disregarding kings are threatened with divine punishments.* But in the Purāṇas, Smritis and other post-Buddhistic works the king's person is distinctly declared to be inviolable and sacred on the ground of his body being composed of the eight protectors of the world, the moon, fire, the sun, wind, Indra, Kubera, Varuna and Yama.† Regarding the divine powers of the king, the proverbial passage “न विष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः”, “The king is God Vishnu himself in the form of a man,” is frequently quoted. The Brāhmins seem to have also renounced their time-honoured claim for their superiority to the king and for the six immunities, such as exemption from corporal punishment, from taxes, hunger, sickness, cold and heat. From the post-Buddhistic period and onwards, they seem to have consented to pay taxes to the king like others and to be liable to punishments for offences though light when compared with those inflicted upon other classes of people. They seem to have also given up the order of hermits as unsuited for the age of Kali and classed it among the customs to be discontinued then.‡

Pleased with this kind of sacrifice of claims on the part of the Brāhmins, the few Hindu kings that stood firm by their Vedic faith seem to have made a common cause with the Brāhmins to expand their kingdoms at the expense of those of the apostate Buddhist kings. “An early stage,” says V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*, “in the reaction against the Buddhist condemnation of sacrifice had been marked by Pushyamitra's celebration of the horse-sacrifice towards the close of the second century. In the fourth, Samudragupta revived the same rite with added splendour; and, in the fifth his grandson repeated the solemnity. Without going further into detail, the matter may be summed up in the remark that coins, inscriptions, and monuments agree in furnishing abundant evidence of the recrudescence during the Gupta period of the Brāhmanical Hinduism at the expense of Buddhism, and of the favour shown by the ruling powers to classical Sanskrit at the expense of the more popular dialects, which had enjoyed the patronage of the Āndhra Kings.” §

Not satisfied with the results which the Brāhmins achieved by their alliance with Hindu kings, they seem to have also instigated the wild tribes (the Ātavikas of the Arthashastra) against the effeminate Buddhist kings by promising them the kingdoms they might conquer. Accordingly in reply to the question of Yudhishtira whether in case of a Brāhman, Vaisya, or Sūdra

* Book I, Chap. XIII, p. 26.

† Manu V. 96. Agnipurana CCXXVI. 17-20; Markandeya Purana XXVII; Brihaddharma-purana, Uttarakanda III. 6-9; Mahabharata LXXII. 25 & 26.

‡ See Smṛiti Chandrika, Vol. I, p. 30, Mysore Oriental Library Ed.

§ *Early History of India*, Second Ed., p. 287.

taking up the reins of government for the purpose of avoiding social confusion, he should be prevented from doing so, Bhishma says "Be he a Śūdra or any other man, he that becomes a raft on a raftless current or a means of crossing where other means there are none, certainly deserves respect in every way."* Again in Chapter XCII, Verse 9, of the same paragraph, he says that "that king who acts according to the advice of a vicious and sinful minister becomes a destroyer of righteousness, and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family."

The installations of Vrishala Chandragupta on the throne of the Nandas and of Śūdra Āryaka on the throne of Pālaka, as dramatised in the 'Clay cart' are instances in point.

Thus employing one or other of the four forms of stratagem (Upāya) such as reconciliation, bribery, causing dissension and open war, the Brāhmins seem to have succeeded in driving out both Jainism and Buddhism from the land and regained this lost power by the end of the seventh or eighth century A. D. It should be noted that throughout this conflict between the Brāhmins on the one hand and the Jainas and the Buddhists on the other, which appears to have lasted for more than ten centuries, the chief part which the Brāhmins successfully played is diplomacy, or artful management of international affairs with a view of securing advantages to themselves. Corresponding to the numberless petty states that studded the vast continent of India both during the pre-Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic periods, there arose a number of political schools of Brāhmins, experimenting the sixfold policy and the fourfold strategic measures, as described in the seventh and twelfth Books of the Arthaśāstra. Chanakya mentions nearly a dozen political schools that were contemporary to him. All of them seem to have been trying their political theories in one or another of the numerous petty states of the time. Among them Kautilya seems to have been a most skilful politician, as proved by his famous political work, the Arthaśāstra and by his installation of Chandragupta on the throne of the Nandas. By making use of the sixfold policy, as described in the seventh Book of his Arthaśāstra, he seems to have subjugated a number of petty states both Jaina and Buddhistic and consolidated them all in one undisputed empire over which Chandragupta and his descendants peacefully reigned. Chanakya's main aim in establishing such an empire and handing it over to a brave Śūdra like Chandragupta instead of keeping it for himself, as Bharadvāja,† another politician of his time, would have done, seems to have been to secure the interests of the Brāhmins under a highborn or baseborn king who evidently depended upon the political genius of the

* Rajadharma, Chap. 78, 38.

† Artha. Book V, Chap. VI, p. 316.

Brāhmins for the safety and security of his empire. That such was his aim, is plainly stated in his Arthaśāstra :—

“That Kshatriya breed *which is brought up by Brāhmins*, is charmed with the counsels of good councillors, and which faithfully follows the precepts of the Śāstras becomes invincible and attains success though unaided with weapons.”¹

Though he was well aware of the elective monarchy² and also the hereditary monarchy³ of the Vedic period and though he thought the republican⁴ form of government as the most invincible and powerful enough to last long, still he attached importance to the above form of absolute monarchy with Brāhman ministers as the only type best adapted for the preservation of Brāhmanic learning and religion. As already stated, the elective monarchy with a preponderance of Brāhmanic element or power in the State Assembly was repulsive to the kings themselves; the republican form of government, though conducive to the preservation and progress of the principles of equality and brotherhood of men as taught by the Buddhists, was apparently not well suited for the preference of Brāhmanic interests to those of the other classes. Hence an absolute monarchy with divine sanctity attached to the king's person and with Brāhman politicians as ministers was the only form of government which Brāhmins following the views of Chāṇakya considered as best fitted for the preservation of their own interests, which, being mainly spiritual, was in their view conducive to the prosperity of other classes also. The rights and prerogatives which they claimed and enjoyed during the Vedic and Brāhmanic periods consisted of the six immunities and the inheritance of the property of persons dying without a heir and appeared therefore to be bare selfish monopolies unjustly secured for themselves at the expense of the interests of other communities. But now they relinquished their claim for those direct self-interests and succeeded in securing some other indirect interests under the name of spiritual interests. They were the gifts and provisions granted by kings for the worship⁵ of gods and ancestors and for averting evils⁶ and the produce of temple lands and Brāhmadeyika⁷ lands. Another source of revenue was the establishment of muṭhs after the model of Jaina and Buddhistic monasteries. In their numerous monasteries the Jaina and the Buddhist monks seem to have been distributing alms to the poor and

1 Book I, Chap. XIII, p. 26.

2 Book I, Chap. XIII, p. 26.

3 & 4 Book I, Chap. XVII, p. 40.

5 Arthaśāstra, Book II, Chap. VI, p. 66.

6 *ibid* „ Chap. VI, p. 70.

7 *ibid* „ Chap. I, p. 52.

the afflicted by making use of the provision made by kings in land or revenue, observing at the same time the strict monastic injunction that no ascetic should possess land or money. The Sannyāsōpanishad like the ascetic injunctions of the Buddhists strictly lays down that a Sannyāsi may receive in the form of a gift nothing but a worn-out garment and that quantity of food which will suffice to keep his body and soul together.* Still under the pretext of worshipping the gods and feeding the poor, the Brāhmins like the Buddhists whom they supplanted seem to have begun in the face of the Śāstraic injunction to the contrary the practice of possessing and enjoying monastic or muṭh and temple lands. It is generally believed that a number of Jaina and Buddhist temples and monasteries were converted into Brāhmanic temples and muṭhs, all endowed with extensive lands for their maintenance. In addition to these, the Brāhmins seem to have also succeeded in inducing a number of kings to build new temples and set up new muṭhs with necessary endowments. Kings in post-Buddhistic India seem to have vied with each other in building temples and muṭhs, perhaps "to infuse spirit among their own men and frighten their enemy's people by giving publicity to their power of omniscience and close association with gods."†

A birds'-eye-view of the immense numbers of extraordinarily rich religious institutions of India in general and of Southern India in particular will convince any one of the unbounded religious zeal implanted in the minds of the post-Buddhistic kings of India. Though this zeal indirectly tended to enrich the Brāhmins and rendered the source of their subsistence permanent, it seems to be this innate zeal, but not partiality towards the Brāhmins, that has been the chief cause of the conversion of India into a land of temples. Why should the Brāhmins expect more for the cultivation of their intellectual faculty and for the exercise of their spiritual cravings in peace? All that the post-Buddhistic Brāhmins like those of the Vedic period required was plenty of time to think and write and sure and unfailing ready subsistence for their maintenance. This the Brahmadeyika lands and richly endowed temples and muṭhs gave them and satisfied them beyond measure. Availing themselves of this peace and plenty, their fertile intellect and original thinking worked wonders in the intellectual and spiritual fields. Can the literary and scientific works they were thus enabled to write and hand down to posterity be counted even now? Panini, Vararuchi, and Patanjali on the subject of Sanskrit grammar, Kāṇāda and Gautama on logic, Jaimini and Bādarayana on philosophy, Charaka and Suśruta on medicine,

* Sannyāsōpanishad, Chap. 1.

† Arthaśāstra, Book XIII, Chap. 1, p. 475.

Chāṇakya and others on political science, Bṛhgu, Yāgyavalkya and others on social codes, Āryabhata and Varāhamihira on mathematics and astronomy, and Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, and Bhāṇa on literature, to speak of only a few, have produced such monumental works as are read even now with respect, wonder, and admiration even by western scholars. It is probable that but for the absolute monarchy which the Brāhmins themselves shaped and constituted with peace and plenty assured for themselves, the Brāhmin intellect would not have thrived so well as it did. In the absolute monarchies thus set up the close association of the Brahmins with the kings was evidently indispensable. To advise the king on social, religious, and political matters affecting the state, to help the king in deciding the questions of peace and war, to officer the various departments of the state, to go on with the work of espionage within and without the state, and even to run as a messenger to foreign states, it is the Brāhmin that was sought for. The Brāhmin's person seems to have been regarded inviolable.* Thus having overthrown Jainism and Buddhism and having constituted a form of government congenial and conducive to the progress and prosperity of Brāhminic interests, the Brāhmin intellect seems to have been satisfied with the *summum bonum* it had achieved for itself after so many struggles, fights, and failures. It was their self-denial coupled with their piety and penance that made the common people concede the rights and privileges which they enjoyed during the Vedic period. It appears to be their fertile intellect and power for diplomatic dealings in politics that induced the people to concede to them the rights and privileges which they enjoyed during the post-Buddhistic period.

Even during the Muhammadan period which evidently disturbed and destroyed their peace for a while, they seem to have succeeded in peacefully enjoying their rights and privileges in the few Hindu kingdoms that survived then. What course will they now take in the interests of themselves and other communities under the mighty and peaceful British empire is a question the solution of which is beset with difficulties. During the Vedic period, they formed a class with free intercourse with other classes even in matters of commensalism and connubiality. During the post-Buddhistic period they unconsciously passed into a rigid caste system, rejecting inter-dining and intermarriage with the Jaina and Buddhist apostates, as I have endeavoured to show in my essay on the evolution of castes. As they have shown so much aptitude of adaptability to changes in environments and circumstances, one can hope that they will modify their views of life and matter according to the needs of the time and renouncing most of their undeserved claims, will chalk out a new course conducive to the good of all.

* Arthaśāstra, Book I, Chap XVI, p. 35.

THE TALI IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA

(BY L. A. CAMMIADÉ, ESQ.).

THE dissensions that have broken out between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Southern India have been a cause of deep regret for all who have the welfare of the country at heart and many earnest minds are at the present moment seeking means to bridge over the differences. The moment seems opportune to bring to notice some facts concerning the various marriage rites to be found in this part of India which, it is hoped, may serve to show that the gulf separating the Brahmin from the non-Brahmin is not in the Dravida country as wide as is generally supposed and that there exist good grounds for these two sections to view each other as one people.

It is superfluous to explain to any one living in Southern India that the central rite in most of the forms of marriage here prevalent is the tying of the *tâli*. But this practice, a knowledge of which we take for granted, is unknown to a large part of India. Ornaments such as nose rings, bangles and certain forms of necklace are, it is true, worn by women in other parts of India as emblems of marriage. But none of these are used sacramentally at the marriage ceremony as the *tâli* is here used to indicate that an irrevocable bond has been established between the bride and the bridegroom. In this respect the use of the *tâli* is peculiar to Southern India and holds a place analogous to the use of the ring in European marriages. The local nature of the custom that imposes the use of a *tâli* for the sealing of the bond of marriage is well illustrated by the absence of all mention of it in the text books that deal with the Hindu law of marriage. Even such an eminent authority on Hindu law like John D. Mayne, who practised for many years at the Madras bar and had an intimate knowledge of the Indian customs of the south, did not consider that any reference to the *tâli* was necessary in his work on Hindu Law.

Attention will be invited, later, to certain variations in the form of the *tâli* that are to be found in these parts. But however much *tâlis* may differ from each other in composition, colour, ornamentation and so on they have always one characteristic in common: the *tâli* is always a string of some sort which the bridegroom or somebody on his behalf knots round the neck of the bride: and the tying of the knot is looked upon as the essential part of the marriage ceremony. The use of a string and the requirement

that the string should be knotted or tied round the neck of the bride is highly suggestive when it is remembered that the great majority of the marriages where the *tâli* is used are to this day in form if not in substance marriages by purchase. It may be noted that when a cow is sold in the neighbourhood of Madras the vendor removes his rope from the cow's neck and the purchaser then substitutes a rope of his own in token of the transfer of ownership. It is not possible to say without further evidence whether any such symbolism is implied in the use of the *tâli*; but it may be observed that as the cow is and always has been a sacred animal in India, there would be nothing incongruous or repugnant in the idea of adopting for the sale of a bride the procedure in use for the sale of a cow.

But, whatever may have been the symbolism implied in the use of a string to mark the acquisition of marital rights, the *tâli* became long ago the honourable and recognized badge of marriage throughout Southern India. The pre-eminence attained by this badge in the social life of Southern India may be judged by the fact that notwithstanding its obvious Hindu origin it has been adopted generally by the various non-Hindu communities that are here permanently domiciled. The first Christian converts whose conversion is ascribed to the apostle Thomas and whose descendants are known as the Syrian Christians of Malabar saw no objection to the retention of the practice of tying a *tâli* round the neck of their brides. Similarly the Jews who formed colonies on the Malabar coast adopted the *tâli* when they intermarried with the women of the country. So did all the various early colonies of Arab settlers on our coasts whose descendants are now known as Lubbai, Marakâyar, Rowther, Mâpilla and Dadakula. Within historic times, Portuguese and other Catholic missionaries have recognized the expediency of permitting their converts to ratify their marriage vows by the use of the Hindu *tâli* in preference to the European wedding ring. Protestant missionaries also have generally sanctioned the use of the *tâli* by their converts.

If such utter foreigners as these Jews, Muhammadans and Christians found good reason to approve of and adopt the *tâli* as a badge of marriage it was only natural that Hindus from other parts of India whom circumstances forced to migrate and make a home for themselves in the South, should have also adopted a similar custom. The age of these colonies may be traced by the degree to which the tying of the *tâli* has become the essential feature of their marriage rite. Recent comers refuse as yet to use the *tâli* while older settlers supplement their own northern customs by the custom of the *tâli*; and this custom tends to rise from a supplementary and subordinate place in the marriage ritual until in the oldest foreign colonies it assumes the chief place.

Curiously enough, the people who have resisted most the adoption of the *táli* are the wild jungle tribes who represent the primitive settlers of Southern India. To this day, a large proportion of the various dark, flat-nosed and rather frizzly haired tribes that inhabit our back woods either do not use the *táli* at all at their marriages or in the cases when they do, there is evidence that the practice is only of recent adoption and in keeping with the gradual conforming of the primitive tribes to the religious and social observances of their more advanced Hindu neighbours. In the extensive tract of wild and hilly country known as the Agency tracts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari, the hill tribes retain various more or less realistic forms of marriage by capture. This primitive form of marriage reappears in the extreme south of the Presidency among the Malai-arasar (*lit.* Lords of the Mountains) who live in the mountains of the Western Ghats which divide Tinnevely from Travancore. Other primitive tribes have more advanced forms of marriage in which the essential rite is for the bride and bridegroom to eat in public out of the same platter or smoke the same cigar or have a bath in common or do some other such overt act indicating the close domestic relationship which the parties thenceforth intend to pursue. The refusal of these jungle tribes to adopt the *táli* is easy to explain by the fact that until recently most of them managed to retain a proud independence in the fastness of their jungles and saw no reason why they should give up their ancient customs for that of the hated lowlanders. But now that their independence is gone or going, it inevitably happens that these people in their efforts to maintain their former prestige should be driven to copy the manners and customs of those who take high rank in the caste system. Consequently, the use of the *táli* is bound to gain ground among them and it is only a question of time for the last lingering examples of these primitive marriage customs to disappear.

Before proceeding further into the etiology of the *táli*, it should be here noted that it cannot be due to accident that the area over which the custom of the *táli* prevails is practically conterminous with the area where the Dravidian languages are spoken. In the Madras Presidency, the custom of the *táli* finds its northern limit in the Ganjam district where an Aryan language, Uriya, meets the Dravidian Telugu. Similarly, the western limit is reached in South Kanara where Kanarese gives way to the Aryan Konkani dialect. This coincidence of the area of a social custom with that of a family of languages seems to suggest that they belonged to a common culture, and there can be little doubt that the culture in question was that of the great Dravidian kingdoms that ruled over Southern India from a remote period of history and that had a civilization of their own foreign in many respects to the civilisation of Northern India.

A custom such as that of the *tâli* which has thus grown and spread until it has included all classes of people irrespective of their status or religious beliefs can hardly be expected to be uniform. The Dravida country extends from south to north for over a thousand miles. Many local variations in the use and in the form of the *tâli* must have sprung up in the various hostile kingdoms into which the country was always split up. Those differences must have become accentuated in the course of the ages during which the custom has been in vogue and must have become all the greater during the long period of isolation and confusion that supervened on the downfall of those kingdoms. An attempt will here be made to indicate some of these differences. They are not negligible. They have been considered by the people of the country important enough to necessitate the giving of special caste names to denote variations in the use of the *tâli*. A special caste name, it is true, does not by itself signify much. Many of these names have originated in nothing better than the vainglory of a faction. But the names indicating the form of the *tâli* which are here referred to seem to be the outcome of deep social differences. They merit scrutiny as holding a promise of enlightenment on the origins of various castes in Southern India.

The sole sources of information available at present on this subject are unfortunately the lists of sub-castes that are appended to the Census reports of 1871, 1881, and 1891. Under the orders of the Government of India sub-caste names have been omitted from the Census of 1901 and 1911; and, unless orders to the contrary are now issued, they are likely to be omitted again from the next census. A glance over these lists of sub-castes will show here and there a sub-caste that embodies in its name the expression "*Tâli-katti*," meaning one who knots or ties a *tâli*, and this appellation is always qualified to indicate the kind of *tâli*, which the sub-caste affects. The following is a list of the "*Tâli-katti*" sub-castes, in so far as they appear in the Census returns:—

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Perun-tâli-katti | (The great-tâli-katti.) |
| 2. Siru-tâli-katti | (The lesser-tâli-katti.) |
| 3. Tonga-tâli-katti | (The pendulous tâli.) |
| 4. Pottu or Bottu-katti | (The tâli with a bottu attached.) |
| 5. Sangu-tâli-katti | (The conch tâli.) |
| 6. Rasa-tâli-katti | (?; Rasa=mercury.) |
| 7. Toppa-tâli-katti | (?; Thoppai=stomach.) |
| 8. Urundai-tâli-katti or
Urundai-maṇi-tâli-katti | (Tâli with a large round bead.) |
| 9. Karun-tâli-katti | (The black tâli.) |
| 10. Jaga-tâli-katti | (?; Jaga world?) |

11. Iru-táli-katti (The two-táli.)
 12. Táli-katti (The táli as distinguished from some other badge of marriage.)

Of these twelve classes the first two are by far the most common. The Perun-táli-katti are to be found in about fifteen different castes while the Siru-táli-katti are scattered among twenty seven castes ranging from aristocratic land-owning classes such as Mudali to low caste wanderers like Koravas and Yerukala; they include Chetties who are considered twice-born and artificers or Kammála who wear the sacred thread; and they also include a heterogenous collection of castes such as shepherds, weavers, fishermen, toddy-tappers, dhobies and barbers. The full list of Perun-táli-katti and Siru-táli-katti is as follows:—

<i>Perun-táli-katti</i>	<i>Siru-táli-katti</i>
—	—
Agambadiyan	Agambadiyan
—	Ambattan
—	Chetti
Idaiyan (81)	Idaiyan
Kaikólan (81)	Kaikólan
Kallan	Kallan
Kammála	Kammála
Kongan	Korava or Yerukala
—	—
—	Malaiyálan (81)
—	S-T-kulam-Malaiyálan (81)
Marava	Marava
—	Mudali
—	Palli or Vanniyan
Pallan (81)	Pallan (81)
—	Panikkan
—	Pariah (81)
—	Púlavan
Sembadavan	Sembadavan
—	Tévan (= Kallan)
—	Shánán
Tottiyan	Tottiyan
—	Uppiliyan
Vellála	Vellála (81)
Valaiyan	Valaiyan
Vaniyán	Vaniyán

Vannān
Vēttuvan

Vannān
Vēttuvan.

Most of the castes here enumerated are largely represented in the Madras Presidency and include a great number of sub-castes. It would be of interest to know the nature of the connection that must on the one hand bind together the various Siru-tāli-katti sub-castes and which at the same time serves to differentiate the Siru-tāli-katti from the rest of their castemen. It would be equally important to know the nature and meaning of the Perun-tāli sub-castes and whether there is any antagonism between them and the Siru-tāli-katti. It may be observed that except in the case of the Kongan there is no Perun-tāli sub-caste without a corresponding Siru-tāli sub-division, though the reverse is not the case. It is also certain that many of the castes now in question are inter-connected. The Kalla, Agambadiya, Marava and Vellāla are undoubtedly so. In spite of the rigidity of the present-day caste system, a saying is still current in the Madura district, and of its truth there is little doubt, that the Kalla gradually turns Agambadiya and then Marava and finally attains to the coveted rank of Vellāla. It is also fairly certain that the Palli or Vanniyan who are the agriculturists of the North Tamil country are related to the Vellāla and that the Mudali are but a branch of these. But the existence of such a connection even among all the castes now in question affords us [no (?)] explanation as to why a minority in each of them should have adopted these two peculiar forms of the tāli.

An inkling of the meaning of the Great and the Lesser forms of the tāli is afforded perhaps by what is known in some castes as the lesser form of marriage, Siru-tāli-kaliyānam or Siru-tāli-katti. This Siru-tāli-katti is a "short" form of marriage which is permissible in certain cases. Thus, where the custom for a man to marry his maternal uncle's daughter or the daughter of his paternal aunt is so persistently followed in a caste as to become a caste law, the full marriage ceremony is almost superfluous and therefore in such cases when a hitch suddenly arises and the wedding ceremony is being retarded or where the parents of the bride are trying to marry her to some third party, the bridegroom *de jure* can make short work of these schemes by seizing the girl and tying a tāli round her neck or in default of a tāli, he may use a string or he may even use a strip torn from off the girl's own saree. It is said, however, that consummation must follow in order to render such marriage indissoluble. In spite, however, of the element of force which the Siru-tāli-kattu implies, this form of marriage has no connection whatsoever with marriage by capture. The root idea here is that a sacramental rite has been performed which cannot be undone. This method of forcing a marriage is however in

vogue even among some of the jungle tribes. A complaint was once made by a Koi (jungle tribe of the Godavari) that a pot of water had been emptied on the head of her daughter by the mother of a boy who had a claim to the girl's hand so as to prevent the girl being given in marriage to any one else. Among these people the essential part of the marriage ceremony is for the bride and bridegroom to have a bath in common.

The existence of the Siru-tâli katti form of marriage does not, in any way explain the origin of the Siru-tâli-katti sub-castes. It is not possible to think of a whole sub-caste that has no other form of marriage than the siru-tâli-kattu. At the most a siru-tâli-katti sub-caste would mean a sub-caste in which the siru-tâli-kattu was permissible. In the present state of ethnology in Southern India it is not possible to do more than speculate regarding the origin of these sub-castes. It may be that the siru-tâli custom is an innovation and that the sub-castes who resort to it are sectarians. But this is not likely. It looks rather as if the siru-tâli sub-castes that are now to be found as scattered minorities are conservative people who have retained an ancient custom that has died out among their fellow castemen. It is also possible that they are the scattered representatives of a common ethnic group. The fact that the siru-tâli-katti sub-castes seem to exist only in the Tamil country and that they are mostly to be found in the southern part of it which was under the jurisdiction of the Pandiya kings seems to suggest that the custom chiefly prevailed in that kingdom.

But if the siru-tâli-katti are people who permit the use of a short form of marriage, then who can the Perun-tâli-katti be? Are they people who do not admit the validity of the siru-tâli form of marriage? If that were so, castes would be divided into two mutually exclusive groups of siru-tâli-katti and Perun-tâli-katti. But that is far from being the case. It is possible that while the term siru-tâli-katti may have reference to a form of marriage, the term Perun-tâli-katti merely refers to the length of the tâli. The absence of all reference to the Perun-tâli-katti in Thurston's Ethnological Notes seems to support this view as also the fact that there is a sub-caste that calls itself Tonga-tâli-katti which can mean only that the tâli in use by it is pendulous. Compare also the term Toppa-tâli (Toppai=stomach) which also seems to have reference to a similar long tâli. The tonga-tâli and toppa-tâli are, moreover each represented only by a very few sub-castes; viz., Tonga-tâli-katti Vellâla and Tongu Kattia Setti (84) and Toppa-tâli-katti Agambadiyan, Toppa-dâyan-Agambadiyan and Toppai Pariah which suggests that these names are mere local variants of Perun-tâli.

The next group of interest in the list of Tâli-katti are the Sangu-tâli-katti. Literally their name implies that a conch shell is strung on to their

tāli. There is no information as to whether such is really the case. Possibly they merely use beads made from the conch. But whether it be the entire shell that is used or only beads made out of it, the interesting point to be noted here is that both the conch and conch beads are to this day strung round the necks of cows. It would seem, therefore, as if the Sangu-tāli-katti had retained in all its primitiveness the parallel between the purchase of a bride and the purchase of a cow. The sub-castes that use this form of the tāli are :

- Sangu-tāli-katti Idaiyan (shepherds).
- Sangu-tāli-katti Vellālan (cultivators).
- Sangu-katti Valaiyan (fowlers).
- Sangu-katti Paraiyan (pariahs).
- Sangu-kammāla (artificers).

It would not be surprising if all of these were interconnected by blood. There would be no difficulty in supposing a connection between the Paraiyan and the Valaiyan. This would not imply more than that some people who are now called Pariahs were once of the primitive tribe of the Valaiyas. Similarly under more favourable circumstances Sangu Valaiyas may have become Sangu shepherds and artificers: these are only professional castes which include all who follow the same profession irrespective of their ethnological origin (cf. the Barber, Dhoby and Weaver castes). The Sangu Vellāla may have attained to their present rank very much in the same fashion as the Kalla is said to become Vellāla. If inquiry should prove that such indeed have been the vicissitudes of the Sangu-katti, their case would serve excellently to illustrate the hollowness of the present caste system of Southern India.

The claim of the Iru-tāli-katti to wear two tālis is rather mysterious. It may safely be assumed that the two tālis here in question do not indicate widow remarriage. In the case of widowhood the tāli is invariably broken and thrown away as a sign of the rupture of the marriage bond. A widow who remarries will wear only one tāli. Hence a sub-caste among weavers that allows of widow remarriage has appropriately called itself Aruthu-kattukira-Kaikolan, that is to say, the Kaikolan who breaks and then re-knots the tāli while a Pariah sub-caste aspiring to rise in the social scale by repudiating widow remarriage has returned itself as Aruthu-kattatavan meaning that these Pariahs do not tie again the tāli once it is broken. The title of Iru-tāli katti is therefore suggestive not of widow remarriage but of polyandry. Evidence of the existence of the Iru-tāli-katti sub-castes is however very scanty. In the census of 1881 only two women of the Kaikolan (Weaver) caste in Coimbatore returned themselves as Iru-tāli-kattugira Kaikolan *i. e.*, the Kaikolan who customarily use two tālis and there were also some dhobies who

returned themselves as Iru-tāli-Tamil Vannān. There is no reference to Iru-tāli-kattis in the census of 1891. This is perhaps not surprising. Though various forms of polyandry existed in Southern India until quite recent times, they were all more or less moribund. It may be that the custom of the double tāli is now quite dead in the sub-castes that once bore the name of Iru-tāli-katti and that the sub-castes concerned have now adopted a new name.

Another mysterious group are the plain Tāli-katti. The assumption of such a title in a country where practically every one wears a tāli seems at first meaningless. Yet it is certain that the census agents made no mistake on this point; the plain tāli-katti are to be found in the census lists of both 1881 and 1891 and in respect of no less than eight different castes:—Valaiya, Pariah, Agambadiya, Marava, Vellāla, (81) Ambattan, Peslakan (81) and Telugu (81). The sequence, Valaiya, Pariah, Vellāla is suggestive of the Sangu-tāli-katti. In the case of the Valaiya the plain title of Tāli-katti does not appear very surprising. The Valaiya are one of the primitive tribes of the South and the Tāli-katti Valaiya may be a section that prides itself to be in advance of the rest of the tribe by having adopted the tāli while the rest still retain their primitive marriage custom. The Pariahs, on the other hand, have to a large extent adopted the Hindu customs. The plain title of Tāli-katti among them seems to imply that in some part of the Madras Presidency there are still Pariahs who are stiff-necked enough to retain their primitive marriage rite and that among them only a small section has as yet taken to the tāli. No explanation can be suggested in regard to the use of the plain title of Tāli-katti by any section of the Agambadiya, Marava and Vellāla. In the case of the Peslakan (Tāli-kattina Peslakan: Rajput) and of the Telugu tāli-katti it is fairly certain that these are Rāju who have adopted the use of the tāli in addition to their own northern form of marriage.

The *Bottu* or *Pottu-katti* and the *karum tāli-katti* seem to be mostly Telugus who have been long settled in the Tamil country. The use of the bottu (a small disc that is strung on to the tāli) and of a black tāli are both typical Telugu customs. The names of most of the sub-castes that use these titles also clearly point to their Telugu origin, *e.g.*, Bottu-katti Dāsari, Naicken, Kavarai, Rajput (Rāju) Vadugan and Telugu Chetty. There are also Bottu-katti Ambattan (barbers) and Bottu-katti Kammāla (artificers). These two last are somewhat of a puzzle. It is difficult to understand why these barbers and smiths if Telugus should have been returned under the Tamil names. It looks as if they were forgetful of their original Telugu caste name and could distinguish themselves from the neighbouring barbers and artificers only by the fact that they add a bottu to their tāli. Of karum-tāli-katti there are

among the Tamil sub-caste names only the karum-tāli-katti-Shanān (toddy tappers) and the Karuppu-mani-katti Nattamān and the koru (karu ?) mani-Rajput, the Karamaniatti (mani-katti ?) Telugu, the Mani-katti Idaiyan (shepherds) and Mani-katti Chedayan (Kaikōlan).

Very little is known about the remaining Tāli-katti sub-castes. The Urundai-tāli-katti exist as a single Kammāla (artificer) sub-caste, and the Urundai-mani-tāli-katti belong also to the same Kammāla caste. They are probably identical. Nothing is known regarding the "globular bead" here referred to. There is also an Urulai (rolled) Kaḷḷan sub-caste who possibly also use a similar tāli. There is only one sub-caste among potters (Kusavan) that claim to wear the Rasa-tāli. The name is not self-explanatory and no information can be traced regarding this form of the tāli. A single Rāju sub-caste gave the name Jaga-tāli-katti at the Census of 1881. The name does not reappear in the Census of 1891.

Besides these various Tāli-katti sub-castes noted above there are a considerable number of other sub-castes that take their name from the bead necklaces which their women wear. In one or two cases these necklaces are certainly tālis and in many other cases they seem to be so. But whether these names relate to tālis or to mere neck ornaments, the important point for notice is that they serve, like the tāli-katti names, to indicate a connection between various castes which are commonly supposed to have no possible connection with each other.

Muthu-katti (wearing or tying pearls) among Pannikkan (Malabar caste) and Vannān (dhoby).

Pavazham-katti (tying corals) among Āndi, Kūtādi, Vellāla, Idaiyan, Kammāla, and Injaikulam.

Mani-katti (tying beads) among Idaiyan, Chedayan (Kaikolan) and Vellālan.

Tambu-mani-katti (tying the tambu (?) bead). Only among Vellāla (81).

Kanaka-mani-katti (tying the Kanaka (?) bead.) Only among Dāsari.

Pāsi-katti (tying beads). Same as Mani-katti? Among Valiyan, Kaikolan, Kammālan, and Idaiyan. Also, Pasi-kutti (Katti ?) Alaiyan.

Kokki-katti (tying large flat beads ?) among Idaiyan, Vellālan and Maravan (81).

Kōli-katti (tying beads of the size of marbles ?) among Vellālan, Idaiyan, and Kōli-perunta-dali (tāli ?) Kammāla.

Kundu-katti (Kundu = Ballet) only among Idaiyan. This may be the same as Kōli.

Kallu-katti (tying stone i.e., crystal beads). They are said to wear sixteen beads on either side of the tāli. The Kal-katti are to be found among

the Agambadiya, Idaiyan, Palli, Vellala, Kavarai, and Vellayar (Mudali). There is also a Kar-(Kal?) katti Vettuvan.

Palingu-katti (tying crystal beads?) among Idaiyan and Kannadian (Canarese), same as Kallu-katti?

Panchâram-katti (tying the gold panchâram neck ornament) among the Agambadiya, Idaiyan, Udaiyan, Sakkili, Balija, and Valaiyan. There are also Pariyam (Panchâram?) Katti, Yadavan and Pariyam-katti-Pallan.

Before concluding this enumeration of the varieties of the tâli, a brief reference must be made to two forms which seem to have considerable ethnological significance though they have not been made to figure as sub-caste names. The Siru-kudi Kalla attach to their tâli a disc on which the Muhammadan badge of the crescent and a star are engraved. The Mēl Nādu and the Purā-malai Nādu Kalla use as a tâli a necklet made of horse hair. The last also circumcise their boys. These peculiarities does not necessarily suggest a connection with Muhammadanism. The connection, if any, seems rather to be with the pre-Muhammadan Arabs who from the most ancient times have been visiting the Kalla districts. The use of horse hair, even more than circumcision and the emblem of the star and crescent, suggests a foreign connection; for the horse was a foreign rarity in the Tamil country of old and it was most unlikely that any Tamils would select horse hair as a suitable material for the plaiting of a tâli. The foreign connection seems also to be suggested by the title "Siru-kudi," which means the lesser branch: it seems to indicate that the Siru-kudi-kalla have been admitted into the Kalla confraternity only on the footing of cadets, and this may have been because they were foreigners or of mixed foreign and Kalla descent. It is also not impossible that the Mēl-Nādu (the Western country) of the Mēl-Nādu Kallas points to a Western, (Arab) connection. There is already a considerable volume of evidence that South India derived its writing, its ancient religion and most of its pre-Aryan civilization from the neighbourhood of the Persian gulf. It would be highly significant if it could also be shown that the Dravidian tâli was also derived from the same source.

The many kinds of tâli that have been noted above are all exceptional forms; that is to say they deal either with survivals of forms that are dying out or with foreign forms brought in by immigrants. To understand these exceptional forms aright it is necessary that the normal forms should be carefully catalogued and studied. It is not the intention here to attempt to discuss the normal forms; materials are wanting. It may, however, be noted that these normal forms divide themselves into two great categories: the black tâlis and the yellow tâlis; the former reigns in the northern and the latter in the southern part of the Dravida country. Most of the forms that

have hitherto been named belong to the Tamil country and are of the yellow series. The various black *tālis* resemble each other not only in the general black colour scheme but are all short strings that go tight round the neck while the yellow *tālis* are all more or less pendulous. The wide area over which each of these major forms are in use and the numerous varieties into which they are sub-divided indicate that the division between the black and the yellow *tālis* is very ancient. The origin of these two forms would be worth investigation on account of their associations with the political and social history of Southern India.

The fossil history to be unearthed from a study of the various kinds of the *tāli* has now been sufficiently indicated. Attention will next be invited to a line of investigation that promises more immediate and more popularly attractive results than can be obtained from any antiquarian research into the origins of the different kinds of the *tāli*. An examination of the ceremonies in use among various castes in Southern India shows that the essentially Dravidian rite of knotting a string round the neck of a bride has been in many cases supplemented by some other marriage rite borrowed from a non-Dravidian source. Thurston in his *Ethnological Notes* has given numerous instances to show how the Brahman ritual has been grafted on the non-Brahman community. But the cases now proposed for investigation are instances where the reverse has happened and when the despised Dravidian *tāli*-tying rite has been super-added to the marriage rite of Brahmans and others who might have been expected to look with disdain on the *tāli* and all that it implies.

The simplest instance of the duplication of the *tāli*-tying rite with some other marriage rite is to be found among the Indian Christian converts. In their case the mutual promises of the contracting parties, which is the essential part of the Christian marriage, comes first and then comes the tying of the *tāli* which was introduced in order to suit the social ideas of the converts. The *tāli* here merely took the place of the European wedding ring. The substitution was all the more easily accomplished as the ring had itself been borrowed from the marriage customs of pagan Rome.

In the case of Arabs of mixed descent, like the Mapilla, Labbai and others, there was a deeper and more cogent reason for supplementing the marriage ritual of the Koran with a *tāli*-tying marriage rite. Arab colonies existed in India from long before the time of Muhammad and as the pre-Muhammadan religion of Arabia was a kind of *lingam* worship it is not unlikely that the Arabs mingled readily with the Indians in all social and religious matters and that among other things were content to marry Indian women according to the Indian custom of the *tāli*.

Moreover, neither the women whom they married nor their Hindu relatives would have felt at ease if these mixed marriages had been celebrated solely according to the religious rite of the foreign husbands. A duplication of the marriage rite was here inevitable in order to satisfy the conscience of both parties. Thus, when Muhammadanism was introduced among the Arab colonies in Southern India, the colonists were already using the *tāli*. The Muhammadan missionaries from Arabia had therefore, like their predecessors the Christian missionaries, to consider whether the continued use of the *tāli* was permissible; and it is to their credit that in spite of their zeal for the new born religion they saw that the custom of the *tāli* in no way contravened their religious principles.

If we now turn to the Hindu communities of Southern India we can find ample traces of a similar duplication of marriage ceremonies when the original marriage rite of Indians from further north has been added to the Dravidian-*tāli*-tying rite. On the borders of the Dravida country, in the districts of Ganjam and South Kanara, several non-Dravidian forms of marriage are to be met with in which the bride is considered as not having been purchased by the bridegroom but as being given to him as a free gift. In token of the gift the hand of the bride is placed in that of the bridegroom and the gift is made irrevocable either by pouring water over the joined hands, or by tying the hands together or by knotting the cloths, etc., the ratificatory ceremony varying according to castes. Compare the marriage customs of the following castes given by Thurston in his *Ethnological Notes*: Badhoyis (Uriya carpenters and smiths, p. 81); Billavas (Toddy-tappers of South Kanara, p. 47); Bants (cultivators, South Kanara, p. 79); Bolāsis and Samardiya (Uriya cultivators, p. 81). Side by side with these purely non-Dravidian marriage customs others are to be found especially a little further south where the hand-joining form has been supplemented by that of the *tāli*. Compare the marriage customs of the Lambādi (pp. 49 and 60), Lingayats (p. 62), Razu (pp. 7 and 41), Gunda (fishermen of South Kanara, p. 80), Kurubas (Kanarese shepherds, of Bellary, pp. 84 and 86), Idaiyan (Tamil shepherds, p. 55 and Glossary appended to Census of 1901), Izhuvas (toddy-tappers of Travancore, p. 70).

It would be too long and too complicated to work out here, even if materials were available, the various reasons which induced these northern people to adopt the *tāli*, but it is not unlikely that intermarriage with Dravidians has been the chief cause for the adoption of the *tāli* by these people. In the case of the Lingayats this is almost certainly so. The Lingayats at one time tried to abolish all caste distinctions. The disciples of

the new confraternity would have been prone to exemplify their faith in the equality of man by intermarriage irrespective of caste; and the Lingayat movement having occurred chiefly in the northern border of the Dravida country a fusion of marriage rites would be natural. As regards the Izhuva, toddy-tappers of Travancore, it is difficult to resist a speculation that they are a branch of the Billava toddy-tappers of South Kanara who migrated southward and are now sandwiched between the Tiyya toddy tappers of Malabar and the Shanar toddy-tappers of Tinnevely. The adoption by the Izhuva of the tāli in addition to the marriage custom of the Billava is probably the result of intermarriage between the northerners and some Travancore people at a time when caste rules were not of the extreme type now in fashion in that country. Intermarriage seems also to be the explanation for the duplication of the marriage rite among the Razu who claim to be Kshatriyas of Rajput descent. The Razu are at the present day hardly distinguishable from the Telugu among whom they chiefly live and whose language they talk.

Numerous instances of the duplication of the marriage rite are also to be found among the jungle tribes that are adopting Hindu customs. But in their case the duplication of the tribal marriage rite with that of the tāli is not the result of intermarriage but merely the outcome of a desire to rise in the social scale. They need not therefore be referred to here though it is possible that a study of these cases may help to show that many people who are now accepted as of good caste are in reality reformed primitives who have given up the eating of beef, snakes and monkeys.

The most remarkable illustration of the duplication of the tāli-tying rite with a foreign rite is to be found among the highest of all the castes, the Brahmans. By inclination and by religion the Brahmans would naturally be averse to the duplication of their own refined and elevated marriage ritual by the addition of the tāli-kattia form of marriage with its associations of buying and selling. Yet, throughout Southern India, all classes of Brahmans are married both by the shastraic and by the tāli-kattu form. The two ceremonies are gone through one after the other within the auspicious hour fixed by the family astrologer. The thought at once arises that the Brahmans may have been induced to adopt the tāli by much the same considerations as induced the Muhammadan Arabs to do the same. History and law tend to corroborate this view. The ancient Hindu law of Northern India certainly allowed a Brahman to contract a valid marriage with a non-Brahman and gave the status of Brahman to the children of such a marriage. If such unions were permissible in Āryāvarta, they became a necessity in the Dravida country on account of the extent and the impassable nature of the intervening country which must have precluded the possibility of bringing Āryan women down

south. It must also be remembered that the Dravida kings of old and their courtiers were people held in high esteem by the contemporary civilized world and that their fame had spread not only over the length and breadth of India but had penetrated to distant Rome. A learned and pious Brahman could therefore have felt no more hesitation in taking a high born Dravida lady for wife than a modern Brahman gentleman feels in contracting a sambandam with a Nayar lady.

Attention may now be drawn to the fact that among the Telugu Brahmans there is not only a duplication of the marriage ceremony but a triplication of it. There is first the marriage according to the shastras followed immediately by a *tāli-kattu* marriage in which a yellow *tāli* with a *bottu* attached is used. Four days later a *tāli* of black beads similar to that in use by the Telugu non-Brahman castes is tied round the neck of the bride in a ceremony known as the *Nāga Balli* or sacrifice to the divine ancestors. The subordination of the ceremony of tying the black *tāli* to the other two and its postponement to the fourth day seem to suggest that the ceremony is one that has lost favour and is being relegated to the back ground. It may be conjectured that the first Brahman settlers in the Telugu country acted like those who settled further south and took their wives from among the non-Brahmans. Hence the black *tāli* and the sacrifice to the *Nāga*. The yellow *tāli* may have come in during the long *Chōla* domination of the northern littoral of the Madras Presidency. If extensive intermarriage then took place between the Tamil *Chōla* Brahmans and the Telugu Brahmans in the conquered country the conflicting claims of the yellow and the black *tāli* may have been compromised by retaining both; precedence being given to the yellow *tāli* of the conqueror but the second being sanctified by its association with ancestor worship.

Enough has now been said on the subject of the *tāli* to indicate how the study of this marriage custom may serve to throw light on the social history of the country. It is with considerable diffidence that the theories embodied in this article have been formulated. They are however put forward in the hope that they may help to promote a better understanding between the various castes of the south and conduce to the development of that union which is indispensable for the growth of a national spirit. In concluding this article I cannot do better than invite attention to a recent utterance of His Holiness Sri Jagat Guru Ananta Chariyar the spiritual adviser of several of the Rajput Ruling Chiefs of Northern India. Presiding at the fifth Vaishnava Conference held in September last at Tinnevely he reminded his hearers that most of the Alwars or Vaishnavite saints were non-Brahmans and that it had been clearly established that there had been non-Brahmans among the priests themselves. (The Madras Mail of 23rd September 1919.)

BHĀSA'S SVAPNA VASAVADATTA.

(Translated specially for the Society's Journal with Critical notes.)

BY

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Dramatis Personæ.

King.—King Udayana of the Vatsas and Youngandharāyana, his Minister, and Viduṣaka, named Vasantaka his favourite.

Brahmachāri.—A student at Lavāṇaka.

Kānchukeya.—An officer at the palace.

Sambhaṣaka)
Soldier) —Attendants of Padmāvathi.

Vasavadatta—Udayana's Queen.

Padmāvathi—The sister of King Darśaka of Maghada and later on the Queen of Udayana.

Maids, servants and other officers of the Court.

ACT I.

(Then at the end of the music enters the stage manager).

Stage Manager—May the hands of Balabhadra guard over you—the hands which equal in colour the rising moon, which have given sweet wine to his wife, which are perfect with the residence of Lakshmi and which are charming as the Vasantaka creeper.

This, Noble Sirs, I beg to inform you—, but, hark! what is this?

A sound is heard, when I am about to speak. Well I must see.

In the Green-room.

Make way, make way, Sirs, make way.

Stage Manager—

There it is; I understand; all the people of the hermitage are being peremptorily made to stand apart by the faithful followers of the King of Maghadha who now are attending on the princess.

(Retires.)

The Prologue.

(Enter (Two) Soldiers)—Make way, make way, Noble Sirs, make way.

(Then enter Youngandharāyana in the mendicant garb and Vāsavadatta dressed as an Avanti Lady).

Youngandharāyana (listening).

Is this making way here too? For Fear is instilled in the minds of these steady-minded people, who dwell in hermitages, who live with content on wild fruits and who are hence worthy of honour. Who is this haughty man who, bereft of modesty and made giddy by fickle fortune, turns by his order this bountiful hermitage into a village?

Vāsavadatta—Sir, who is it clears the way?

Yougan—One who severs his connection with virtue.

Vāsava—Sir, I don't desire this. I am afraid, I too may have to make way.

Yougan—Madam, not even gods, can insult thus unfeelingly?

Vāsava—Sir, physical exhaustion does not give me so much pain as such slights.

Yougan—Why, this is a thing my ladyship has enjoyed and now discarded. No thought is to be had on this, because previously you had what you were fond of, and in a greater degree shall you have it again with the success of my lord. The course of worldly fortune goes like the course of a revolving wheel.

Soldiers—Make way, make way.

(Then enters Kānchukēya).

Kānchukēya—Don't, herald, don't clear the way, look!

Cease, Sir, this scandal to the king's name. Harshness is not to be used towards the dwellers of a hermitage. Hither have come high-minded souls, to live in the forest to escape the trouble of the city.

Soldiers—Even so, Noble Sir.

(Exeunt).

Yougan—Ho! how well-cultured is his mind! We shall approach him.

Vāsava—Sir, as you say.

Yougan (approaching)—Sir, why this clearing of the way?

Kānchukēya—Worthy hermit!

Yougandharāyaṇa (to himself)—Really, good enough is this title hermit but is not acceptable to the mind, being unfamiliar.

Kānchu—Sir, listen, there is the princess Padmāvati, the sister of our great king Darsaka, a name applauded even by our Gurus. This same princess has been to the Queen-mother who is now residing in the forest. With her Majesty's permission she is now on her way back to Rajagrha. She desires to camp here, in this hermitage, for the day. Therefore, worthy Sir, let the holy water, Samit, flowers, and Kūsa-grass be peacefully collected. The king's daughter loves virtue and does not desire to afflict virtue. This is a family vow of hers.

Yougan—All right (to himself).

And this is Padmāvati, the princess of Maghadha, who our astrologers, Puṣpaka and Bhadra, have declared, would become the crowned queen of our lord. Thus, I entertain for her a high feeling of 'mine' because she is desired as the Queen of my King. Surely ill-will or respect arises from the feeling of one's own mind.'

Vāsavadatta (to herself)—Hearing she is a princess, I feel for her a sister's love. ³

(Then enter Padmāvati, and maid with her suite.)

Maid.—Approach, Mistress, approach, and enter the hermitage.

(They enter and see a Tāpasi seated).

Tāpasi—Welcome, Princess.

Vāsavadatta (to herself)—This is that Princess? Her person is befitting her birth. ⁴

Padmāvati—Madam, I salute thee.

Tāpasi—May you live long. Enter, my love, enter. Hermitages are the native home of guests.

Padmāvati—True enough. I believe your words, lady. I am blessed by these your honoured words.

Vāsavadatta (to herself)—Not only her person, but her speech also is sweet.

Tāpasi (to the maid)—Dear, does not any prince woo Bhadra Mukha's sister?

Maid—There is, Pradyotha, King of Ujjain. For his son's sake he carries on negotiations through messengers.

Vāsavadatta (to herself)—All right, she is now become mine.

Tāpasi—Befitting him is this her person. Both the royal families are, it is well known, highly worthy of this honour.

Padmāvati—Did you see the sages that I might be blessed. Let the sages be invited placing before them what they desire. ⁵ Make it known and ascertain it from the sages.

Kānchu—As you please, my lady. (Turning to the sages) O, worthy sages of the hermitage, you (all) hear. This lady, princess of Magadha, having confidence begotten by (your) confidence and being desirous of virtue (respectfully) invites you with presents.

'Who is in necessity for sacrificial pots? Who is seeking for clothes? Having finished his prescribed course, is there any one desiring anything to be given to his guru? If any one has any desire, let him speak (it) out. That, what and to whom (it may be) shall be given. The princess here, dearly loving virtue, solicits blessing.'

Youngandharāyaṇa (to himself)—Good. I see a chance; (aloud) Worthy Sir, I am an applicant.

Padmāvati—Happily, my visit to the hermitage has become fruitful.

Tāpasi—Surely this must be a new comer; for all of us here in this hermitage are well content.

Kānchu—Sir, what is to be done?

Yogan—This is my sister. I desire her ladyship would for some time protect her who has her lord far away, because I have no need for wealth or pleasures or clothes. I have not donned the mendicant garb ⁶ for my livelihood. This lady, firm-minded and walking in the path of virtue is capable of protecting the honour of my sister.

Vāsava (to herself)—Then, the noble Youngandharāyaṇa is desirous of keeping me here. Let it be; he does not do anything without thinking.

Kānchukēya (to Padmāvati) Lady—His request is very great. How can we consent to it because, it is easy to give wealth, to give life, to give (even the fruit of) penance. It is easy to give every thing else; but to protect what is entrusted is difficult.' ⁷

Padma—Sir, it is indeed improper now to consider when you have at first announced 'who desired what'. Promise him what he wants.

Kānchu—What is said is worthy of yourself.

Maid—May my mistress live long thus adhering to truth.

Tāpasi—May she live long, my dear.

Kānchu—Madam, all right; (approaching Yogan.) Worthy Sir, her ladyship accepts the guardianship of your sister.

Yogan—I am honoured by her ladyship. My dear, go to her ladyship.

Vasavadatta (to herself)—What else? My unfortunate self shall go. ⁸

Padma—Good! Good! You have now become mine.

Tāpasi—From her figure I think she also is a princess.

Maid—Madam, you speak true. I too think she must have enjoyed better days.

Youngandhan (to himself). ⁹—Thank God. Half my task is over. As I have planned with my colleagues so it turns out. When my lord is established again and I lead her ladyship back, then this worthy princess of Magadha will bear me out. I have done this because of my belief in the words of prophets, the first part of which proved true by the series of the Kings' misfortunes. Surely the well considered words of the Siddhas even fate dare not transgress.

(Then enters a Brahmachārin.)

Brahmachārin (looking up)—It is midday. I am tired. Where shall I rest? (Walks about); Why, this must be a hermitage. The deer roam

about confidently in the knowledge that the place is secure. There are a large number of black cows, many uncultivated fields, and further large columns of smoke; undoubtedly this must be a hermitage.¹⁰ So I shall enter—(Entering) Ah!, this person is out of place in a hermitage. (Looking in another direction) O, there are hermits too. I may proceed without sinning; why ladies?

Kānchu—Enter freely, Sir, freely. The hermitage is common to all. Vāsavadatta (to herself). Hem!

Padmāvatī (to herself)—Ha! She avoids the sight of a stranger. Well, I must look well after my charge.

Kānchu—Sir, we have come first; so we bid you a guest's welcome.

Brahmachāri (sprinkling water)—Thanks, thanks, I am already refreshed.

Youghan—Worthy, Sir, whence come you and whither do you go? Which is your home?

Brahma—Sir, listen, I come now from Rajagrha. To specialise in śrutis, I have been living at Lavanaka in the country of the Vatsas.

Vāsava (to herself)—Alas, that name Lavanaka renews my affliction.

Youghan—And you finished your course?

Brahma—But, alas, no.

Youghan—If your study is not finished, what is the purpose of your coming away?

Brahma—There has befallen a dire calamity.

Youghan—In what shape?

Brahma—King Udayana lives there.

Youghan—King Udayana is well-known. What about him?

Brahma—His wife Vāsavadatta, the daughter of the Avanti King is very dear to him.

Youghan—Naturally enough. And then?

Brahma—While that King was out hunting, she was burnt to death in the city fire.

Vāsava (to herself)—It's false, it's false. My unfortunate self lives.

Youghan—Then?

Brahma—And Yougandharāyaṇa, his minister desirous of effecting her rescue also fell in the same fire.

Youghan—Did he really fall? What then?

Brahma—Then on his return the King hearing the news and bemoaning their loss resolved to end his life in the same fire; but was with great difficulty dissuaded by his ministers.

Vāsava (to herself)—I know. I know his consuming love towards me.

Youghan—Then, then.

Brahma—Having embraced the ornaments, which were the remains from the fire and which had adorned her body, the King swooned away.

All—Alas, alas.

Vāsava (to herself)—Let the worthy Yougandharāyaṇa 'be now possessed of his wish' ¹¹.

Maid—Princess, our noble lady weeps.

Padma—It is only sympathy.

Youghan—Yes, yes. My sister is naturally very sympathetic. Then?

Brahma—Then slowly, step by step, the King regained consciousness.

Padma—Praise God he lives : my mind became empty when I heard of his swoon.

Youghan—Then?

Brahma—Then with his body all red with dust by rolling on the ground, the King suddenly got up and began—'Alas, my Vāsavadatta, dear princess of Avanti, alas! dearest, alas! my beloved pupil!'. Thus and thus he wailed for long.

To put it briefly—

'Now even Chakravakas are not like him : none like unto him—none who has lost his beloved. Blessed indeed, that woman, whom the husband cherishes so well. Though burned, she yet lives unburned in her lord's love.

Youghan—And now, Worthy Sir, ¹² did none of the ministers try to bring him back?

Brahma—Yes, Minister Rumanvan tried his utmost to console His Majesty. And he—

'Equally rejecting food, with face pale with copious crying, bears on his body an equal weight of sorrow. Thus deeply suffering both by day and night, he attends on the King; why, if the King now abandons his life, he too is prepared to follow'.

Vāsava (to herself)—Thank God, my lord is in good hands.

Youghan (to himself)—Oh! great is the burden borne by Rumanvan; for This my responsibility admits of rest; but what has devolved on him, none at all. Surely, every thing comes under him, who has the King in his care. (Aloud) Well, Sir, is His Majesty quite recovered now?

Brahma—That I know not. The ministers have with great difficulty removed the king from that village, His Majesty continually wailing ¹³ 'here have I laughed with her, here have I chatted with her, here have I enjoyed with her, here have I angered her, here have I lain with her' and so on; and when the King departed, the village has become as unattractive as the sky when the moon and stars have set. And so, I also came away thence.

Tâpasi—He must surely be a good King since even this stranger praises him so.

Maid (aside)—Princess, will any other woman get his hand ? 14.

Padma (to herself)—My mind also puts the same question.

Brahma—May I take leave Worthy Sirs ? let me go.

Both—Depart (and may you have your) desires fulfilled.

Brahma—Amen ; (Exit).

Youghan—Well, with her ladyship's permission, I too desire to take leave.

Kârchu (to Padma)—He desires to take leave with your permission.

Padma—Let the worthy gentleman be not anxious about his sister.

Youghan—Being in the hands of virtuous people, she does not cause me anxiety. (Turning to Kârchukēya) Then let me take leave.

Kârchu—Go, Sir, to meet again.

Youghan—Let it be so (Exit).

Kârchu—It is time now to go in.

Padma—Mother, I bow to thee.

Tâpasi—Dear, may you get a worthy husband !

Vâsava—Mother, I bow to thee.

Tâpasi—May you unite with your husband soon !

Vâsava—I am blessed.

Kârchu—Come on. This way, this way, madam. And now, the birds have retired to their nests ; the sages are bathing ; the fire grows brighter, smoke spreads through the hermitage. Drooping down and far away the sun collecting his scattered rays turns his chariot and is slowly entering the sunset mount (Exit).

FIRST ACT ENDS.

NOTES.

Prologue.—The usual benedictory stanzas are absent and this is a prominent omission considering the Nandi is the peculiar feature of all Sanskrit dramas.

In the prologue itself there is another violation of the laws of dramaturgy; for this requires two actors, cf 'सुत्रधारो नट्यद्भूते,' etc., but here we have only one. As in Kālidāsa and unlike in Bhavabhūti, the poet does not make the stage manager touch upon the personality of the poet. Like the Occidental dramatists the poet enters direct into the subject. One thing however he has attended to and that is the suggestive mention of the hero and the heroines and the main topic of the drama; thus we find therein the names of *Udayana*, *Vāsavadatta*, *Padmāvatī*, *Vasantaka* and the mention of the two ministers; and this is done by means of verbal suggestion.

(1) The mendicants. This is a religious order which arose in India before the 5th century B. C. Their dress marks them off as such and they have their own views of morality, life, etc. The origin of these orders must be placed still earlier. If we put down Pāṇini to the 7th century B. C.—and for these arguments are not wanting—these orders must have had their origin at least a century earlier. For, Pāṇini speaks of Bhikṣu Sūtras and gives as their authors, Parāśarya and Karmanda. This would show that different sects had arisen even during Pāṇini's days.

(2) This refers to the time honoured custom of Indian kings to retire to the solitude of the forest to spend the evening of their life in study and contemplation. Such retirement has been considered to be not merely one of convenience but of obligation. For in pursuance of his kingly duties he could not have avoided certain pricks of conscience and the only course of absolution and purgation which our religion prescribes is to retire to the forest and do penance. Our Paurāṇik kings had strictly adhered to this.

(3) A different reading is suggested and that is to put Vāsavadatta's remarks before the thoughts of Yougandharāyaṇa. This would be more appropriate in as much as Vāsavadatta's remarks are the spontaneous outburst of love, whereas the minister views and argues as the politician he is. His remarks are the product of thought. Again in the speech of Yougandharāyaṇa the word 'Thanks' must be aloud. Note here the extreme modesty of the nobility and the peculiar features of the Indian welcome.

(4) The sisterly feeling now becomes mingled with a touch of admiration and respect. The introduction of the question of her marriage strengthens this feeling of sisterly affection—an absolutely necessary thing considering their future position.

(5) Here some may be inclined to find a touch of vanity but such a view only betrays an absolute ignorance of Indian social customs. In the first place there is no scope in an hermitage for the satisfaction of vanity because hermits are those who have abdicated all the worldly pleasures and they have no ambition or desire. Here we are justified to find a well tempered

and happy solicitude on the maiden's part to do something useful to them and this attitude becomes well emphasised in the proclamation that her Chamberlain is made to issue. There is indeed a delicate commingling of happy, beauty, maiden modesty and royal solicitude to be of help to others. It is an oft-coveted pleasure to be able to do something for an anchorite but seldom obtained. This aspect is well brought out in the Tāpasi's ejaculation following Yougandharāyaṇa's announcement.

(6) Here Yougandharāyaṇa insinuates a degeneration in the orders. Some have donned this garb to cloak beggary and to thus gain an apparently honourable livelihood.

Note the speech following Yougandharāyaṇa's and the implicit faith of Vāsavadatta. It is a crucial position since this step would mean that she was henceforth to be alone, away even from the consoling counsels of her lord's faithful minister.

(7) The Kāñchuki's speech is a beautiful set off against the debased conception of the sense of responsibility which is now seldom fully realised. Note further Padmāvathi's exquisitely keen and delicate sense of honour in calling him to order and the following compliments are worthy of the personage to whom they are offered.

(8) Vāsavadatta's faith naturally enough shakes under the realisation of her position. Note again the keen sense of observation of the people of the hermitage. They hazard a shrewd guess.

(9) Note the speech of Yougandharāyaṇa. He fully realises his delicate and risky position. We may here see a gentle wave of doubt rolling over his face to disturb his exultant plans. He steadies his mind once again and it is for that purpose that he reiterates his basic argument for the stern and severe risk that he has taken upon himself, a risk that is capable of exploding the lives of two of his dearest friends and masters and probably, of himself and his colleagues. And as he reviews his position and his action, we can see in his face the not-to-be-mistaken lines of care and intense anxiety. He is in total ignorance of the action of his colleagues and of their success, though luck has so far favoured him. With this anxiety he now indulges in a note of self-justification. He thinks, and holds firmly on to it, that intention justifies the means. His intention has been justly noble—the reconstruction of his master's fallen fortunes and that is to be based on a marriage. Fully believing the words of prophets and astrologers, and finding arguments also supporting him, he hazards the great undertaking and now half-way quiets down the gentle sweep of doubt by a review.

The introduction of the Brahman at this stage has been specially dramatic. The high ministerial anxiety is evidently manifest in the question which he puts, quietly though, to the Brahman. This is evidenced by the very abruptness of his question. He offers no remarks, for his mind is too full and he is perhaps afraid of betraying himself. Only twice he utters a sentence, once to tone down and explain his supposed sister's attitude, and secondly to question the doings of his colleagues—a question in which we seem to hear a stern resolve of summary dealing with an 'If' which is to some extent drowned in his anxious sorrow for the King.

(10) Note the prominent characteristics of the hermitage. The description is very happy. In a few masterly touches the poet has placed before us the whole hermitage in its externalism and the words of Youghandharāyaṇa lay bare the inner life also. Combine the two and we have the whole picture. Compare this with the description of Kanva's hermitage, and though we have similarity of features, yet the two differ in that here we have not that sensuous element which is characteristic of Kalidasa's portraits. We are there regaled at every step with the delicate hand of a loving, charming lady. Here, however, we have but the rigour of penance, and hence, we feel as if in an atmosphere sublime, far away from the throbbing cares and the foolishness and weakness of man. This rigour is toned down by the courtesy and affection that the inmates show towards all.

The Brahmachārin enters and hesitates but he is reassured by Kanchukēya. When Vasavadatta hears that he comes from Lavaṇaka, she is all attention and that with a sorrowful heart. In the questions of the minister we see throughout a note of anxiety mingled with hope, anxiety for the King's then position and hope for his prospective success, which is now more or less assured. Throughout the Queen's exclamations we find intense devotion, and romantic love. This is not unrequited for the King who is as fond and faithful to her as she is of him.

(11) The cup of misery was full to overflowing when the Brahman said that he the King had swooned away. Vasavadatta could no longer bear it; her heart bursts and in this we hear only the cry of despair. She speaks but a word here and there and yet so deftly has she been delineated that we are easily enabled to realise the great sorrow which now weighs down upon her. And no wonder in that moment of extreme mental anguish she gives vent to that one satirical statement against the faithful minister. The true significance of this we shall consider later. Here it may also be pointed out that there is in her that self-control which characterises true nobility. In the midst of her great sorrow she remembers her present position and does not betray herself. And it is in the midst of this sorrow and calamity that Padmāvati strikes the keynote of her affection, which is so soon to swell into the full current of love. The germ of this love is sympathy for nobility in distress and admiration for Udāyana's capacity for loving.

Note here the poet's skill in delineating character as is evinced by this stranger's description which, meagre and broken though it be, is yet in substance full. His words draw tears from our eyes. Here we see the hand of a master poet engaged in a noble business, and sorrow is here depicted in 'sorrow's own garb.'

(12) This question conceals beneath it an anxious doubt and an iron determination. The fate of his colleagues is trembling in the balance and Youghandharāyaṇa is waiting for the answer to seal their doom. The answer at once dispels his unjust suspicions and his repentance is clear in the noble eulogy that he heaps on Rumanvan. It is this heartfelt tribute that suggests the criticism that we have given expression to; this view is still further strengthened by his inquiry of the King's condition which in this connection comes but second in his consideration. Vasavadatta's remarks clearly exhibit

the view she takes of the action of *Yaugandharāyana* as well as her feelings towards him at this time in spite of her implicit faith in him.

(13) This wailing still further reveals the romantic love of Udayana. The condition of Vasavadatta when she hears these can better be imagined than described. This is carried to the last limits of tension and is very dramatic. Who can depict the state of her mind when she hears her lord pine for her so keenly. The enraged queen puts on an indifferent air and stands silent, sublimely silent, but all the same none the less eloquent. This is really an achievement possible only by a dramatic genius. The gleaming eyes, the quivering lips, these are significant to her faithful minister, who, we are afraid, must have quailed under these.

(14) These words of the maid strike a discordant note here and some way maintain a certain lowering in characterisation. But that only argues a want of taste. It is the maid that speaks and her question reveals her own wish to see her mistress joined in wedlock to him. What does this show but a feeling of affection based on loving sympathy? It is clear that the king has captivated their minds and this question paves the way to that love which Padmāvatī has even now begun to entertain for Udayana. If it has not been thus paved, her sudden attachment for him would have sounded harsh to the Hindu sense of feminine modesty which does not admit of too much romance, the more so when we remember that she hears of him now for the first time. As it is, there is first pity and sympathy for his sufferings. Her mind has been so very susceptible to this tender influence that her heart goes out to him. His wailings and unchecked distress transform this into love. Thus the apparent want of harmony has its own dramatic purpose. And it is only the more happy for it. The tender sprouts of love have instinctively been planted in her soft and melting heart and this is clear from her soliloquy.

(15) Thus ends the first act. This sets forth the conditions under which the plot is to develop. The action is quick enough. Here are introduced to us all the principal personæ and the keynote of their character is suggested. We may also add the act begins just before noon and closes by the evening.

THE VELVIKUDI PLATES OF SADAIYAN PARANTAKA

BY K. G. ŚANKARA, B.A., B.L.

MR. VENKAYYA first brought these plates to notice in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908,* wherein he gives an abstract of their contents, but, already in 1893, he had expressed his intention of publishing them.† Since then, more than 26 years have elapsed, and they remain yet unpublished. They are inaccessible to scholars except in the form of Mr. Venkayya's abstract. Through the kindness of a friend, I got a loan of a photo-copy of the plates for study. I was able to decipher them almost completely, and, with the help of my friend Mr. S. Vaiyāpuri Pillai, to make out their meaning. I do not, however, intend to edit them, as I understand the Government Epigraphist is engaged on the same work. As it is, nevertheless, uncertain when they will be published, and, as Mr. Venkayya's abstract seems to be in places incorrect and misleading, I intend in this paper to give an accurate and full account of these plates, and correct what seem to me errors of statement or inference in Mr. Venkayya's account. I reserve for future consideration the bearing of these plates and other early Pāṇḍya records on their history.

The plates, 10 in number, contain 155 lines, of which lines 1—30, and 142—150 are in Samskr̥t verses and Grantha script, and lines 31—141 and 151—5 are in mixed Tamil prose and verse with the Tamil words in Vaṭṭeḷuttu, and the Samskr̥t words in Grantha script. Mr. Venkayya errs in saying that the Tamil portion is in ornate *prose* with frequent alliteration. The alphabet, both of the Samskr̥t and Tamil portions closely resembles and yet is slightly older than that of the Madras Museum plates of the same king, and this is easily explained, because the Vēlviḷuḍi plates are dated in his 3rd year, while the Madras Museum plates are dated in his 17th year.

The plates begin with an invocation to the God Śiva.‡ We are then introduced to the Pāṇḍya dynasty, § and to its priest Agastya, born from a pot, who stopped the growth of the Vindhya mountain which intended to prevent the sun from circling the earth in revenge for its not being accorded a high position among the mountains by the Gods, and who drank up all the water of the ocean to help Indra, the king of the Gods, in discovering his demon-foe hid in the depths of the ocean.¶ We are then told that King

* G. O. No. 574—17th July 1908 (pp. 62-9).

† I. A. (22-64).

‡ 11. 1—2.

§ 1. 3.

¶ 11. 3—5.

Pāṇḍya, who alone had survived the destruction of the worlds at the end of the last æon (*Kalpa*), was requested by Brahma, the Creator, to take up the protection of the recreated world, and, therefore, took birth as *Budha*, the son of the Moon by Tārā, the wife of Brhaspati, the preceptor of the Gods.¹ Here we have a clear reference to the claim of the Pāṇḍya Kings to have descended from the lunar race. His son was *Purūravas* who destroyed the enemies of the Gods (*Daityas*).²

In his family were born the kings who engraved their family emblem, i.e., two fish, on the peak of the king of the mountains, the golden *Mēru* of Indian mythology, around which the gods are fabled to move; who shared with Indra half his throne, and his garland; who conquered in war the king of the *Daityas*; who sent the gods as his ambassadors; who churned the ocean of milk of Indian fable with the *Mandara* mountain for nectar; and who were all anointed as kings by Agastya himself.³ The sharing of half his throne and garland with Indra was perhaps in return for the Pāṇḍya's services to Indra in conquering his enemies. But the reference to the embassy of the gods is not clear. Mr. Venkayya, perhaps guided by the similar allusion in the Tamil portion of the bigger Chinnamanūr plates of Rājasimha⁴ understood the expression *dūtībhūta-divōkasi*⁵ to mean "going as ambassador to the Gods." But the rules of Samskrit compounds do not admit of such a construction. The *Samāsa* is *dūtī-bhūtāḥ divōkasaḥ yasmai tat tasmin*. We must, therefore, take the Tamil portion of the bigger Chinnamanūr plates to refer to a different exploit of the Pāṇḍya family.

Then came *Mārravarman* who ruled long (*Chirakāla*), performed the *Tulābhāra* ceremony wherein the king weighs himself against gold which he distributes among Brahmans, and the *Amṛta-garbha*, or the *Hiraṇyagarbha* wherein the king passes through a golden cow which he makes a present of to Brahmans, and was the patron of learned men (*Sudhiyām*).⁶ His son was the king known to fame (*pratītaḥ*) as *Raṇadhīra*, i.e., the firm in battle.⁷ His son was the king named (*abhidhah*) *Mārravarman*.⁸ That king *Rājasimha*, i.e., the lion of kings, compelled king *Pallava-malla* to flee from battle.⁹ He also performed the *Kanaka-garbha*, i.e., the *Hiraṇya-garbha*, and the *Tulā-bhāra*.¹⁰ He married the daughter of the *Maḷava* king.¹¹ It is likely that this *Maḷava* king is to be identified, not with the king of *Mālva* in Rājputāna, but with the king of the *Maḷavas* in the Tamil country. The Samskrit *!* is the equiva-

1 II. 5-7.

2 I. 8.

3 II. 8-11; Mr. Venkayya wrongly identifies *Daityas* with the *Rākshasas*.

4 *Ama(r)akku-p-pala muraiaṁ dātu nittu* II. (89-90.)

5 I. 10.

6 II. 12-15.

7 I. 16.

8 II. 17-9.

9 II. 19-22.

10 I. 23.

11 If the king of *Mālva* in N. India had been meant, we should have not *Maḷava*, but *Mālava*. The *Maḷava-rāyar*, i.e., the kings of the *Maḷava* tribe are well-known.

lent of the Tamil *l*. From her was born the king named (*abidhānah*) *Jaṭila*, the Samskrt equivalent of the Tamil *Ṣaḍaiyan*.¹ He is also called *Parāntaka*, the son of *Rājasimha*, and is referred to as the ruling king when this eulogy (*praṣasti*) was composed by *Varōdaya Bhaṭṭa*, who had performed all sacrifices (*sarva-kratu-yājina*).²

Then the Tamil passage begins by saying that the Pāṇḍya sovereign (*ādhirāja*) Pal-yāga (*i.e.*, of many sacrifices) *Mudu-kuḍumi* Peru-valūdi (the great king) had granted the village named *Vēḷvi-kuḍi* (*i.e.*, the village granted for sacrifice) in the Pāhanūr-Kūtram (*i.e.*, Pāhanūr sub-division) to Narr-koṭṭan of Korrkai to enable him to complete a sacrifice that he had begun.³ This king is well known to the 'Sangham' works. The *Madurai-k-kānji* ⁴ refers to his performance of many sacrifices, and mentions him as an ancestor of its hero, the Pāṇḍya *Neḍum-Ṣeḷiyan* of *Talai-ālam-gānam* fame. Therein his name is given as Pal-ṣālai *Mudu-kuḍumi*. Here *Ṣālai* stands for *yāgā-ṣālai*, *i.e.*, sacrificial halls. To him, moreover, five lyrics in the *Purra-nānūrru* (the objective 400) have been dedicated. *Kāri-Kiḷār*, the author of the 6th lyric, refers to Kuḍumi (l. 26) and his devotion to Śiva (*mukkaṇ ṣeḷvar naḡar valam ṣeyarrkē, irraṇjuha* ll. 18-9). *Neṭṭimaiyār*, the author of the 9th, 12th and 15th lyrics, refers to Kuḍumi (9. 8; 12. 3) and his many sacrificial halls (*vēḷvi muṭri, yūṣam naṭṭa viyan-kaḷam pāla kol.* 15. 20—1). He also refers to the *Pahruḷi* river (9.11) dug by *Neḍiyōn* (*Neḍiyōn, nan-nūr-p-Pahruḷi*. 9.10—1) whom the commentator identifies with *Vaḍimbu-alamba-ninrra-Pāṇḍyan*, *i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya who stood so that the edge of his feet were washed by the sea in homage. The *Pahruḷi* river is perhaps to be identified with the *Parraḷi* river in Nānjināḍ. *Neḍum-palliyattanār*, the author of the 64th lyric refers to the king as *Kuḍumi-k-komān i.e.*, king Kuḍumi (l. 6). The footnotes to the poems mention the king's name as *Pal-yāga-ṣālai-mudu-kuḍumi-p-peru-valūdi*, and, in all probability, they were supplied by the original editor of the *Purra-nānūrru*.

Then the plates inform us that the grant property was enjoyed by possession for a long time.⁵ It is not stated whether the donee himself or his successors also enjoyed the property. But *nīḍu i.e.*, 'long', suggests that the latter alternative is the more probable of the two; and the rules of Tamil grammar and idiom allow such a construction. The use of the plural in *Ādhirājas*⁶ suggests likewise that the enjoyment continued during the rule of more than one of *Mudu-kuḍumi*'s successors, who are, however, not mentioned by name here. Thereafter the Pāṇḍyas were dispossessed of their kingdom by the *Kaḷabhra* king, who was, however, expelled by

1 11.24-5.

2 11. 29—30.

3 11.31—8.

4 l. 759-760.

5 *nīḍu bhukti tu(y)ṭṭa pin* (l. 39).

6 l. 39.

Ādhirāja *Kaḍum-Kōn*.¹ The language used² here indicates that the expelled Kaḷabhra was identical with the Kaḷabhra who dispossessed the Ādhirājas, and that his occupation of the Pāṇḍya country was only of short duration.

Mr. Venkayya identifies this *Kaḷabhra* occupation with the occupation of Madura by a *Karṇāṭa* king referred to in the *Mūrti-Nāyanār Purāṇam* of the *Periya-Purāṇam*, and this identification has gained acceptance even with Mr. T. A. Gopīnātha Rao who only rarely agrees with Mr. Venkayya. But, all the same, it is a mistake. We have shown that the occupying Kaḷabhra himself was driven out, while the *Karṇāṭa* king was not expelled at all, but died a natural death, leaving no issue. The Kaḷabhra was succeeded by the Pāṇḍya (ll. 41,46) *Kaḍum-Kōn*, while the *Karṇāṭa* king was succeeded by *Mūrti Nāyanār*, because there was no Pāṇḍya prince left to succeed. Finally, the Kaḷabhras are nowhere identified with the *Karṇāṭas*. On the contrary, both in history and literature, they are mentioned separately. Mr. Venkayya suggests that *Neḍum-Śeḷiyam* expelled the Kaḷabhras. The plates, on the contrary, distinctly attribute the achievement to *Kaḍum-Kōn*. We must, therefore, be content for the present to leave the Kaḷabhra king unidentified.

The son of *Kaḍum-Kōn* was Ādhirājan. Avani Chūlāmaṇi (the earth's crest-gem) *Mārravarman*.³ His son was *Śēndan*, the king of kings (*vēndar vēndan*), the Pāṇḍya (*śeḷiyan*), and the Chēra (*vānavan*).⁴ This latter king is called a Chēra, in all probability, for the reason that his mother was a Chēra princess, and not because he conquered the Chēra country, since no specific conquests are claimed for him. Mr. Venkayya, forgetting that *Śēndan* is separated from *Śeḷiyan* by *Vānavan*, and *śenkōl*, takes *Śeḷiyan-Śēndan*, and not *Śēndan* alone, to be the name of the king.

Then comes a king whom Mr. Venkayya takes to be the son of *Śēndan*. But the text, which invariably states the relationship of father and son in clear terms if it existed, has here only *Maṭru avarrku paḷippu inri-vali-t-tōnrri*,⁵ which means that *Śēndan's* successor was only a descendant of *Śēndan*, but brought the latter no discredit. He could not have been a remote descendant, for then we should have some indications that other kings ruled between the two. He must, therefore, have succeeded *Śēndan* directly. But it is not probable that he was the latter's son's son, for it is usual to indicate such relationship if it existed; e.g., the *Vēlūrpālaiyam* plates refer to Narasimhavarman II, even mistakenly, as the son's son (*putra-sūnu*) of *Paramēśvaravarman I*,⁶ and, among Pāṇḍya records, the bigger Chinnamanūr

1 ll. 39-40; 45; 41.

2 ādhirājavai ahala nūkki ahal iḍattai-k-kaḷabhran ennum kaḷi araisan kai-k-konḍadanai irrakkiya pin (ll. 39-40).

3 ll. 46-8.

4 ll. 48-51.

5 l. 51.

6. *J. R. A. S.* 1911-522.

plates refer to Rājasimha as the son's son (*pautra*) of Parāṅkuṣa.¹ So we must infer that Sēndan's successor was his daughter's son. Then the phrase *without discredit* would be significant, as one's daughter's son belongs, by birth, to another's family. He is referred to as Arikēsari Asamasaman (a lion to his foes, and equal in his treatment of even those who are unequal to him in rank) *Mārravarman*.² Mr. Venkayya says that he appeared on the Udayagiri. But this is not supported by the text which only says that he came out (*veḷir-paṭṭu*) like the sun (*ṣuḍar pōla*) that rests (*urru*) on the middle (*madhyamattu*) of the Udayagiri mountain. The word *urru* shows that the king could not be said to rest on the mountain.³

This king won the battles of *Pāḷi* and *Nelvēli*.⁴ In the latter battle, Mr. Venkayya says, the king fought with *Vilvēli*. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, on the other hand, thinks that Vilveli is the Pallava city Villivalam (Chingleput District) and that the Pallavas overran the Pāṇḍya country.⁵ But it is strange that, when victory is claimed over the Chōḷas, Chēras, and even the petty Kurrūnāḍar, the plates should refer to the ocean-like Pallava army by the name of an insignificant Pallava city instead of proudly claiming victory over the Pallavas. In fact, the passage only means "the ocean-like army (*Kadal tānaiyai*) fenced in (*vēli*) by bows i.e., bowmen (*vil*)"⁶ and the conjectures as to whether *vilvēli* is a person or a place are entirely out of place.

Besides winning the battles of *Pāḷi* and *Nelvēli*, this King destroyed the *Kurrūnāḍar*, won the battle of *Sennilam*, several times defeated the *Kēraḷa* who is said to have ruled over the whole earth without a rival, and who therefore seems to have been the most powerful king of that age in South India, captured the tiger standard, and the capital city *Kōḷi*, or *Urraiyūr* of the Chōḷas in a single day before the sun had set, and performed many *Hiranya-garbhas*, and *Tulā-bhāras*, protecting the Brahmans and the disabled.⁷

His son was king (*Kō*) *Ṣadaiyan* who won the battle of *Marudūr*, destroyed the *Āy-veḷ*, and, at the great city *Mangalapura*, the *Mahārathas*, and who is referred to as Pāṇḍya and Chēra (*tenna-vānavan*), Chōḷa (*sem-biyan Chōḷan*), Karṇāṭa (*Karunāḍahan*), and the Kongu king (*Kongar-Kōmān*).⁸ These titles do not mean much, as no specific victories are claimed over these countries.

The *Āy-Vēḷ* are the Āy Kings of Nānjināḍ whose inscriptions Mr. Gopī-nātha Rāo has brought to notice. Mr. Venkayya thought the name was

1. I. 107.

2. I. 62.

3. II. 51-2.

4. II. 53-4.

5. *Historical sketches* (pp. 123-4).

6. I. 53.

7. II. 55-61.

8. II. 62-4, 66, 69-70.

Āya-Vēl, but the word rhyming in these plates with *Ēy*¹ and *Tivāy*² must clearly be *Āy-Vēl*, and even the traces of a *pulli* are visible in the latter lines here referred to, though the *pullis* (dot) are, by no means, uniformly used in these plates. This form is confirmed by the names of the chiefs of the 'Sangham' age *Āy Anḍiran* and *Āy Eyinan*, and of the place *Āy-k-kuḍi*.

Dr. Dubreuil is, no doubt, correct in identifying the *Māharatha* with a *Chālukya* king, but when he fixes the *Chālukya* as *Vikramāditya*,³ he is unconvincing, because, while *Ṣadaiyan* fought the *Mahāratha* at *Mangalapura* which may be identified with *Mangalore* in the *W. Chālukya* kingdom, *Vikramāditya* fought the *Pāṇḍyas* at *Peruvaḷanattūr*, as Dr. Dubreuil himself admits. His speculations based only on the identity of the names of the *Pallava* and *Pāṇḍyas* *Rājasimhas* as regards their relationship, need not, therefore, be seriously considered.

The son of *Ṣadaiyan* was *Mārran*.⁴ Mr. Venkayya, misunderstanding the words *mān tēr Mārran* which mean "*Mārran* of the horse-chariot" thought the name of the King was *Tēr-Mārran*, and this name was accepted by Mr. Gopinātha also. But this would make the use of *mān* meaningless. Mr. Venkayya makes a similar mistake in construing *man ter Varōdayan*⁵ to refer to a king *Tēr-Varōdayan*, when the word *Varodayan* is only a title of the King *Nedumārran*.

This *Mārran* fought at *Neduvayal*, *Kurru-madai*, *Mann-kurrichchi*, *Tirumangai*, *Pūvalūr*, *Kodumpālār*, against the *Pallava* at *Kuḷumbur*, at *Periyalūr*, and, crossing the *Kāvērī*, subdued the *Kongu* country of the *Maḷavas* (*maḷa-Kongam*). He then reached *Pāṇḍi-k-koḍumudi*, and worshipped the God *Paṣu-pati* (lord of souls) there. He next allied himself (*sambandham* *ṣeydum*) with *Ganga-Rāja*, the King of *Kongu* (*Kongaravan*). Here we have, doubtless, a reference to his marrying the *Maḷava* princess, and we must infer that she was the daughter of *Ganga-Rāja*, the King of the *Maḷava* tribe who inhabited *Kongu*. Thereafter *Mārran* performed numerous *Gō-sahasrās* in which a 1,000 cows were presented to Brahmins, *Hiraṇya-garbhās* and *Tulābhāras*, and renewed (*pudukkiyum*) the walls named (*ennum*) *Kūḍal*, *Vanchi*, and *Kōḷi*, and he is referred to as the King of Kings.⁶

Mr. Venkayya, ignoring the word *ennum*, misunderstood the passage concerning the renewal of the walls to mean that he renewed the walls of the capitals of the three countries, his own, *Chōḷa*, and *Chēra*. But all these walls might have been in *Madura* itself, and only named after the other cities, in memory of a previous conquest of the *Chōḷa* and *Chēra* Kingdoms. But the

1 11. 63—4.

2 11. 94—5.

3 *Pallavās* p. 68.

4 11. 71, 88.

5 *Irraiyanūr Aha-p-porul*. Bhavanandam's Ed. (verses 31, 42, 59, 169, 298, 325).

6 11. 72—87.

word *renewed* shows the conquest is not to be attributed to this Mārran, but to his grand-father who did achieve these victories. It would, indeed, be more natural for a King to renew his own city walls, than the walls of other Kings.

His son *Nedum-Šaduiyan* conquered the Pallava (*Kāḍavanai*) at *Peñ-nāhadam* on the South bank of the *Kāvērī*, and the *Āy-vēl* and the *Kur-rumbas* at *Nattu-Kurumbu*. His titles word *Tenna-Vānavan* (the Pāṇḍya and the Chera), *Śrī-Varan* (the husband of the goddess of prosperity), *Śrī-Manōharan* (charming to, or, with, prosperity), *Śina-Chōḷan* (the angry Chōḷa), *ḥuna-pūḷiyan* (the King of the Chēra country excelling in dry lands) *Vita-Kalmasha* (who had rid himself of all impurities), *Vinaya-viṣruta* (famed for his humility), *Vikrama-pāraga* (who had reached the farthest bounds of valour), *Vira-ḥurōga* (the foremost of heroes), *Marut-balā* (strong as the wind), *Mānya-śasna* (of honoured commands), *Manu-Upama* (comparable to Manu the earliest King and legislator of the Hindus), *Mardita-Vira* (who had trampled upon heroes), *Giri-sthira* (firm as a mountain) *Gīti-Kinnara* (skilled in singing like the demi-gods Kinnaras who, like the centaurs, were half man and half horse, but with the head of a horse), *Kṛpā-ālayan* (the abode of mercy), *Kṛta-apadāna* (who had done accomplished works), *Kaliḥ-p-pahai* (the foe of the evil age and its spirit Kali) *Kantaka-nishthura* (merciless towards the thorns i.e., evil-disposed persons), *Kārya-dakṣiṇa* (skilled in business), *Kārmuka-Partha* (like the Pāṇḍava Arjuna in wielding his arrows), *Parāntaka* (the destroyer of his enemies, probably his true Samskrit name), *Pundita-vatsala* (the patron of learned men), *Pari-ḥūrṇa* (contented), *Pāpa-chiru* (who fears contact with sin), *Guṇagrāhya* (who appreciates merit), *Gūḍha-ānrṇya* (the secret in counsel, and who has discharged all debts material and spiritual.)*

When the third year of his reign was current, a citizen who had lost his former estate, and not, as Mr. Venkayya interprets, the palace singer (*ḥadu-nittavar*) of Madura (*Kūḍal*) one day got angry. The King sent for him and asked him what his grievance was. The latter replied that *Velvi-Kudi* in *Pāhanūr-kutram* had formerly been granted to his family by the King's ancestor, the supreme lord (*Parama-Iṣvara*) Pal-yāgā.-*Mudu-Kudumi-p-peru-valudi*, but had been resumed by the Kaḷabhras. The King smiled unbelieving (*nanrru nanrru enrru murravalittu*), and asked him to prove the antiquity of the grant by evidence (*nāttāl*). When the antiquity was satisfactorily proved, the King regranted the village exactly in accordance with the original grant to *Kāma-k-Kāṇi Nararchingar* of *Korrkai*.†

* 11. 88, 92-103; 11. 103—118.

† Here *Nāttāl* must be taken as the instrumental of *Nāttu* a noun derived from *Nāttu* 'to establish.'

Misled by Mr. Venkayya's incorrect account, Mr. L. D. Svāmikkannu Pillai is puzzled by the statement that the king agreed to accept as evidence of the original grant the *oral* testimony of the residents of the district,* though more than 200 years had elapsed at the time, since the date of the original grant.† But the text only says that the King wanted the grant to be proved by evidence, not necessarily oral, and that it was so proved. We must, therefore, conclude, with the writer in the *Ṣen-Tamiḻ* whom Mr. L. D. S. quotes but disagrees with, that the gift was proved by an early grant of Mudu-Kuḍumi's produced before the King, which might have remained in the donee's family, though possession of the property granted had been lost.

The *Ājnapati* (*āṇatti*), i. e., the person who carries out the king's command with regard to the grant, and who is usually either the grantor himself, or his crown-prince (*Yuvarāja*), chief minister (*Uttara-mantri*), or the officer of the district in which the village is situate, is, in this case, said to be *Mārran-Kāri* (i. e., Kāri, son of Mārran), the crest gem of the *Vaidya* caste, who was known as *Mū-vēnda-mangalap-pēr-ayan* (i. e., the great chief of the village of the three kings), perhaps a title of nobility bestowed on him by the King, and a descendant of the *Karavanda-pura* family (*Karavanda-purattavar-Pula-t-tōnrral*) which was settled there by the previous King Mārran (*pūrva-rājar*) in return for services rendered in connection with the defeat of *Ganga-rāja*, King of Kongu, and the negotiations for Mārran's marriage with *Ganga-rāja's* daughter, and with the defeat of *Vallabha* at *Venbai*.‡ The title *Vallabha* is peculiar to the Chālukya kings of Bādāmi, and, considering the proximity in time of this battle, with the Chālukya invasion of Vikramāditya II in c. 740 A. D., and, having regard to the latter's claim to have distressed the Pāṇḍyas also (in that invasion);§ we may conclude that the *Vallabha*, here referred to, is identical with Vikramāditya II. The Kongar-Kōn here referred to as having married *Ganga-Rāja's* daughter is, doubtless, identical with Mārran who, by his conquest of Kongu, had a right to that title.

Then we have a reference to one of the donees *Mūrti Eyinan*, and the author of this Tamil eulogy, *Ṣāttan Ṣāttan* alias *Sēnāpati*, (general) *Ēnādi*. This is followed by Samskr̥t verses which mention the *Ājnapati* as *Mangala-rāja* (the auspicious chief), *Madhura-tān* (most sweet, perhaps in manners), *Ṣāstravit* (versed in all sciences), *Kavi* (poet), *Vāgmi* (eloquent), *Vaidya* (in caste) resident of *Karavandapura*, and which, in four ślokas, extol the duty of making and protecting grants, and imprecate their violation. These last are

* The change of "residents of the district" into the "residents of the village" is a further refinement introduced by Mr. L. D. S.

† *The System of Chronology in Early Tamil literature* (p. 7.)

‡ 11. 126-34.

§ *E.I.* 9. 205.

said to have been taken from the *Vaishnava Dharma* which is, perhaps, identical with the *Vishnu-Dharmottara Purāṇa*. The engraver was *Yuddhakēsari* (lit. a lion in battle), Perum-papaikāran (the great drummer).^{*} With this statement, the inscription ends.

It is now necessary to fix the date of these plates. It is certain that the last kings of the Samskrt and Tamil portions are identical, for they are both said to have been the sons of the Mārran who married the Maḷava or Maḷava king's daughter, to have been named Śadaiyan, and to have been ruling at the time of the grant, and the name Parāntaka is common to both. The *Ājnaṭṭi* is identical with the builder of the Ānaimalai rock-cut temple,[†] since both of them are called *Kāri*, the son of *Mārran*, *Vaidya* in caste, residents of *Karavan-dapurā* or *Kalukkudi* (*Kalakkād* in Tinnwelly District), *Madhuratarā*, *Kavi*, and *Mūvēnda-mangala-p-pēr-araiyan*. So the kings they served must be identical. The king is called *Mārran-Śadaiyan* i.e., *Śadaiyan*, son of *Mārran* in the Tamil portion, and named (*abhidhāna*) *Parāntaka* in the Samskrt portion of the Ānaimalai inscription. The Samskrt portion of the Vēlvi-kuḍi plates refers to his *abhidhāna* as *Jatila*, i.e., *Śadaiyan*. So the Tamil and Samskrt names of the king seem to have been *Śadaiyan* and *Parāntaka*. *Nedum* in *Nedum-Śadaiyan* seems, therefore, to have been merely an epithet meaning 'the great.'

The Samskrt portion of the Ānaimalai inscription says that Mārran-Kāri built (*akṛta*) the rock-temple (*śilāgrham*) to Viṣṇu (Narasimha, i.e., the man-lion incarnation), and consecrated the image (*vrta-pratishthah*) on Kali 3,871 expired Kārttika, day of Pūshan (i.e. sun) which means Sunday, and Rēvati Nakshatra = 4th November 770 A. D., and, on that occasion, he gave *agrahāras* (villages) to Brahmins, as is usually done when a new image is consecrated. But, says the Tamil portion, he died before he could perform the *nir-t-talittal* ceremony, and, therefore, his younger brother, *Mārran Eyinan*, who succeeded him as the king's chief minister, built the *mukha-mandapa* (outer hall) and performed the ceremony. This Eyinan had the title *Pāndi-mangala-visai-araiyan*. Mr. Venkoba Rao, who edited the inscription, identified *nir-t-talittal* with the consecration ceremony. But it had already been performed by Mārran Kāri himself. Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao, on the other hand, reads the words as *niraittu-alittu*, and takes it to mean "completed (the outworks) and bestowed them on the public." But, in that case, we should have *niratti*, not *nirattu*. And *niratti* can only mean "levelled," never, "completed." Even for the sense "filled" which conveys a different idea from "completed," we should have *niratti*, not *nirattu*. The vowel, moreover, in *ni* is long and not short. So we should take the word as *nirttelittal*, the equivalent of

^{*} I. I. 136, 139—55.

[†] E. I. 8. 317—21.

the Samskrt *samprokshana*, meaning "sprinkling water upon." The omission of the *pulli* is not unusual in inscriptions—the present plates are an instance in point—and *ra*, might, therefore, be very well read as *r*. Mr. Gopinātha objects that we should have, in that case, *teḷittal*, not *talittal*. But such variations are equally common in inscriptions—e.g., in these plates we have *veḷirr-pattu* for *veḷi-p-pattu*, and *tutta* for *tuytta* in ll. 39, 41, 52, and 88—9. Moreover, the word *talitta* itself is used in the sense of "sprinkling" in *Ainkurru-nūrru* (3281). So we should take this ceremony to have been performed a second time for the consecration of the outer works completed after the consecration of the image.

Mārran-Kāri should have, therefore, died within a month or two of the ceremony consecrating the image, which would be the time required for the completion of the outer works, *i.e.* before the year 770 A. D. had died out. The Vēlvi-kudi plates of which he was the Ājnapti, must, therefore, be dated before this event. In the third year of Parāntaka, Mārran-Kāri must have been the chief minister, since he was chosen as the Ājnapti. At the end of 770 A. D. he died and was succeeded as chief minister by his brother Mārran Eyinan. But in the sixth year of the King, his Mahāsāmanta (great feudatory) was the *Vaidya Śāttan-Gaṇapati* alias *Pāndi-Amṛta-mangala-araiyan* (a title of nobility) of *Karavandapura*. Since the title *Mahā-sāmanta* seems to have been applied only to the chief ministers, as may be seen from its application to Nēpāl Amṣuvarman,* *Śāttan-Gaṇapati* seems to have succeeded Mārran-Eyinan as chief minister before the king's sixth year.† Allowing for the latter ministership at least two years to the close of the king's fifth year, we must equate the close of the 5—2=3rd year of the king's reign, in which the Vēlvikuḍi plates were issued, with 770 A.D., and place the king's accession in 770—3=767 A. D.

Incidentally, we may discuss the contents of the sixth year inscription already referred to. Mr. Venkayya took the *Nakkan-Kotri* referred to therein as the builder of the temples to Durgā (the fierce aspect of Śiva's wife), and Jyēṣṭhā (the inauspicious elder sister of Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity), as the wife (*dharma-patni*) of *Śāttan-Gaṇapati*. Mr. Gopinātha objects that, the plural *avarṛku* preceding *dharma-patni*, makes us understand her to be the king's wife instead. But he was evidently confusing the plural *avarṛku* (*avar+ku*) with the singular *avarṛku* (*avan+ku*), and, in the case of the king also, we have only the singulars *Ṣadaiyarṛku* and *avarṛku*. So, by relative proximity, *Nakkan-Kotri* should be the wife, not of the King, who is mentioned in the beginning of the inscription, but of

* I. A. 9. 163-94 Nos. 5 & 6; Sylvain Levi's *LE Nēpāl*, Vol. 3, Nos. 9, 12-5.

† I. A. 22-67.

Śāttan-Gaṇapati, who is mentioned immediately before. Besides, if she were a queen, we should expect her to be introduced not in such plain terms, but with titles befitting her dignity, as is usual in inscriptions. It is, moreover, more natural for a wife than the queen to add her benefactions to the temple and tank that *Gaṇapati* had repaired. And, if the queen were the donor, she should have been mentioned before the *mahā-sāmantha*. So we may conclude that *Nakkan-Kotri* was the wife of *Śāttan-Gaṇapati*.

Finally, we may consider the identifications based on the names *Madhura-kavi*, and *Mārran-Kāri*. Mr. Venkayya identifies *Mārran-Kāri* with *Madhurakavi-Ālvār*. But the Vaishṇava biographies make the latter a *Brāhman* of *Tiru-kkōlūr*, while the former was a *Vaidya* by caste, and, not only a *resident* of *Karavandapura*, but a *descendant* also of a family settled there by a *previous* king. It cannot, therefore, be argued that *Madhura-kavi* *Ālvār*, though born at *Tirukkoḷūr*, might have resided at *Karavandapura*, after he entered the service of the *Pāṇḍya* king. The traditional biography, on the contrary, makes him travel in North India until he met *Nammālvār* by divine command. The suggestion, therefore, that *Nammālvār* might have been named after the son of *Madhurakavi* *Ālvār*, is also disposed of. Besides, *Nammālvār*, had been born and named long before *Madhurakavi*, met him. Mr. *Gopīnātha*, on the other hand, identifies *Mārran-Kāri* with the father of *Nammālvār* who was also called *Kāri-Mārran*. But *Nammālvār* was *Vēlāḷa*, not a *Vaidya*, and he was a native of *Kuruhūr* and not of *Kaḷakkād*. And, having regard to the fact that the temple which *Mārran-Kāri* had built had to be completed by his younger brother instead of his son, it is extremely unlikely that he had a son at all. If *Nammālvār* had been the son of *Mārran-Kāri*, it is certainly remarkable that he omits to sing the *Ānaimalai* temple built by his father, when he sings the *Tiru-Mohūr* temple close by.¹ Mr. Venkayya suggests, moreover, that *Tirumangai* *Ālvār* came a decade or two *later* than *Nammālvār*. The reverse of this would be true. For, *Tirumangai* *Ālvār*, who refers to *Vairamēgha* (a title of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* *Dantidurga* who conquered *Kānchi* before 754 A.D.)² as being bowed down to (in the present tense—*vaṇangum*) by the king of *Tonḍai* (whose capital is *Kānchi*), and as having besieged *tan vali sūḷnda* *Kānchi*,³ must have written his work before 754 A.D., since *Dantidurga* was deposed shortly after by his uncle *Krishṇa I*. *Nammālvār*, on the other hand, sings about *Śrīvara-mangalam*,⁴ which was the name given to *Vēlaṅ-kudi* by *Ṣaḍaiyan* *Parāntaka* when he granted the village to *Sujjāta-Bhaṭṭa* in his 17th year = 767 + 16 = 783 A.D.⁵, and, therefore, *Nammālvār* wrote at least 783—754 = 29 years after *Tirumangai* *Ālvār*.

1. *Tiru-vay-moli*. 10.1.

2. *E. C. Gb.* 61, Vol. 11, *Tumkūr*; *E. J.* Vol. 9, No. 4.

3. *Periya-Tiru-moli*. 2.8.10.

4. *Tiru-vay-moli*. 5.7.

5. *I. A.* 22.71.

THE GURJARAS AND THE MANI-MEKHALAI.

BY K. G. SESA AYYAR, B.A., B.L., TRIVANDRUM.

PROF. MACDONELL recently expressed himself (*J.R.A.S.* 1918, p. 531) as follows :—"The date c. 200 A.C. assigned to the *Śīlap-adhikāram* seems to be valueless, because in the companion romance mention is made of the *Gurjaras*, who do not seem to have entered India before c. 450 A.C." This assertion requires scrutiny.

The reference is obviously to the expression *Kuccarakkutikai* which occurs in the *Maṇi-mēkhalai* (cp. 18, 11. 145 and 152). Mahāmahōpādya, Pt.V. Svāminātha Ayyar tells us that the expression signifies "a small temple built in the style of the Gurjara country, which, it is said, was reputed for skill in architecture" (*ibid* p.162). I venture, however, to suggest that the expression has probably been wrongly explained.

The context is as follows :—Prince Udaya-kumara persecutes Maṇi-mēkhalai with his attentions as she was feeding the poor in the hall of the Buddhist monastery; and, in order to escape being carried away by him, she enters the inner shrine, and, by the use of a magical formula, transforms herself, and comes back to the hall. Not seeing Manimēkhalai's form return, Udaya-kumara seeks her in the inner shrine without success and leaves the place disappointed. It is this inner shrine that is designated *Kuccarakkutiki* in the text.

Having regard to the context, I am convinced the expression has no reference to Gurjaras, or to any definite style of architecture associated with Gujrāt, but it denotes some structure characteristic of Buddhistic usage. As I shall attempt to show presently, it denotes a vaulted recess or small temple in a rock.

Upon the learned editor's explanation and Prof. Macdonell's statement, the following questions naturally seek an answer. What is the warrant for the view that the Gurjaras were great architects? What is the proof for the statement that they originated or developed a distinctive style of architecture? What is the evidence for believing that their arts of war and peace extended their influence over South India? Who are the Gurjaras, and on what grounds can we assert that they had not settled in India prior to the fifth century A.C.?

The Gurjaras are supposed to have entered India from the north west, but we are not told when. Gujarāt formed a part of the Mauryan empire; and, after the fall of the Mauryas, Gujarāt was at least from the first century A.C., governed by Śaka Kshatrapas, till the close of the fourth century A.C., when

Chandragupta II overthrew the Kshatrapa power. After Chandragupta's death in 413 A.C., decay steadily crept into the Gupta empire, and by c. 450 A.C., Skandagupta had to retire before the invading Huns who broke up and destroyed the Gupta empire. The power of the Huns was in its turn broken by the defeat of Mihira-gula at Kahrôr by Narasimha-gupta and his ally Yaśa-dharman of Mālva in c. 530 A.C. In the meantime, about 500 A.C., Bhaṭārka, a Gurjara chief, founded the kingdom of Valabhi in Kathiawār, which ruled over Gujarāt till it was overwhelmed by the Arab invasion about 770 A.C. Why, in this connected history of Gujarāt, should the Gurjaras be regarded as having settled in the province only after the fifth century A.C.? If the Gurjaras came into India with the Śakas, seeing there is really nothing to justify the Śakas and the Gurjaras being regarded as two distinct tribes, it will be reasonable to suppose that the Gurjaras were in Gujarāt from the days of the Śaka domination, if not from an earlier period. The founding of Valabhi about 500 A.C., cannot indicate that the Gurjaras came into the country only about that time. No doubt, the Hun invasion of India took place about 450 A.C., but what reason is advanced for holding that the Gurjaras were either akin to or came with the Huns? The probabilities are that the Gurjaras are of the same stock as the Śakas and came into India with them, and on the break-up of the Mauryan empire they began to rule Gujarāt, Kathiawār, and Mālva where they had already settled.

I now come to the expression *Kuccarak-kutikai*. *Kuccaram* is a recognised variant of *Kuttaram*. *Kuttaram* is obviously the Samskr̥t *Kudhrah* which means a rock or mountain. *Kutikai* is Samskr̥t *Kutika* which means a hut or cottage. Hence the expression means literally a hut fashioned in a rock, and hence a small rock-cut shrine. This is just the meaning that the context will suggest, and I venture to state that that is the sense in which the poet has used the expression. If so, the alleged allusion to the Gurjaras and their style of architecture is fanciful; and the argument based thereon that the *Manimēkhalai* and the *Silap-adhikāram* cannot belong to the second century A. C. must fail.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

The Vikrama Theory of Kalidasa's Date

By K. G. SANKARA, B.A., B.L., TRIVANDRUM.

RECENTLY (*ante* 10. 75—96), an attempt has been made to revive the Vikrama theory of Kālidāsa's date. In this paper I intend briefly to show that it cannot be upheld, omitting, however, the points already dealt with in anticipation in my paper on the date of Kālidāsa (*ante* 8. 278-292; 9. 17-56).

Mr. Banerji argues that the King of Avanti is described in the *Raghuvamśa* as having long arms, broad chest, and narrow waist, and as comparable to the *hot-rayed* sun, and that therefore Kālidāsa must be taken to refer to the name of the King as Vikramāditya. Comment is needless. In arriving at the inference, he confuses valour (*Vikrama*) with manly strength and forms and equates *ushqatvjah* with *aditya*. But, if the poet's intention was to hint at the name of the King, he must have used the latter word and not the former.

Then Mr. Banerji says that, since Kālidāsa has no *direct* reference to his patron, he must have lived before the fourth century A. C. when poets praise kings in inscriptions. But there is no analogy between inspired poets, and verse-makers *paid* for praising kings in inscriptions.

He then says that tradition names Bhānumatī as the queen of Vikramāditya. But he does not state how far back the tradition can be carried, and how far it is reliable. Moreover the reference to the *queen* Bhānumatī in Kālidāsa is not at all obvious, and can be *extracted* only by altering the construction.

Mr. Banerji sees a reference to wandering Buddhist monks in *Meghadūta* (verse 14), but he does not give reasons. If *diṇ-nāga* refers to wandering Buddhist monks, the *sthūla-hasta-avatāpat* must refer to *their* acts, and not to Aśoka's pillars, as Mr. Banerji inconsistently suggests.

Then he argues that, because Kālidāsa says that the King of Magadha pleased his subjects, and performed sacrifices, and since Raghu forbore from annexing Kalinga, we have a reference to Pushyamitra, and Aśoka's annexation of Kalinga. We might with equal propriety see a reference to Ādityavarman of the seventh century A. C., and to Kulōttunga's conquest of Kalinga. He also says that these references prove that Kālidāsa's patron was not the king of Magadha. One would think they prove quite the contrary.

He then argues that, because Kālidāsa omits Mālva in the list of countries conquered by Raghu, he must have been a protégé of Vikramāditya. But, since Kālidāsa omits Magadha also, he must have been a protégé of the Magadha King also. Even if he had been a protégé of the Mālva king only, that king need not have been Vikramāditya, who was not the only King of Mālva.

Mr. Banerji says that the *Gatha-sapta-ṣaṭi* draws a distinction between the characters of Vikramāditya and Śātavāhana. But no such distinction is drawn,

and they are mentioned in different contexts. He argues that the pun *āvanayam* must have been suggested by Kālidāsa's *aparṇā*. But the inference is not necessary.

Then he says that the *Gatha* gives an exception to a general statement of Kālidāsa and tries to ridicule Kālidāsa's picture of the meeting of Sakuntala and Dushyanta. But there is no reference in the *Gatha* to Kālidāsa or his work.

Mr. Banerji argues that, because Kālidāsa refers to the old men of Avanti as versed in the Udayana legend, he lived before the composition of the *Brhat-Katha*. But Kālidāsa does not say that the legend lived *only* in the old men's mouths. And, even after the *Brhat-Katha* was composed, old men might be referred to as versed in the Udayana legend.

Mr. Banerji relies on the Vikramāditya legend. But it is found only in very late works, and fact and fiction are so closely interwoven in it that it is impossible to separate them. He then tries to show that Kālidāsa refers to the legend, but to arrive at the result he mingles up Kālidāsa's references to various persons and things that have nothing to do with Vikramāditya. He argues that in describing the *garbha-abhishūka* of Agnivarna's queen, Kālidāsa had in mind the similar incident in the Vikrama legend. But it is more probable that the incident in the Vikrama legend, decidedly later in date, is an imitation of Kālidāsa's account.

Mr. Banerji asks how the Mālva era started, if Vikramāditya did not found it. But it is not necessary that, because the origin of an era is obscure, we should hold to an origin that has been disproved by valid evidence. Neither is it necessary that, because a king or chief must have guided the Mālavas in their conquests, that king was Vikramāditya, or that the era should have been named after him, especially if he was only the leader of a republican tribe.

Then Mr. Banerji says that no reason has been assigned for disbelieving Col. Todd's and Dayānanda Sarasvati's genealogies. One would have thought the burden of proof lay on such modern writers to show why they should be believed.

Mr. Banerji says that if Kālidāsa had borrowed from Asvaghosha, he would not have repeated the same description twice. But if, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, Kālidāsa not only borrowed some ideas from Asvaghosha, but also developed them and gave them a polished, musical expression, he need not have been ashamed of repeating the same description twice.

Then Mr. Banerji says that the look of the damsels towards Aja was not, according to Asvaghosha, moral, and therefore Asvaghosha says of his own damsels that their hearts were pure. But Asvaghosha makes no such reference to the damsels who looked at Aja. And of this same *moral* Asvaghōsha Mr. Banerji says inconsistently that he becomes, in one verse, obscene in his realistic details.

Again Mr. Banerji says that when Asvaghōsha refers to Mārā's wonder at Buddha's resisting his wiles, he was really flinging at Kālidāsa's reference to Siva's succumbing to Madanā's influence, and that Bhāravi, in revenge, makes Arjuna not only resist but overcome the tempters, and that these facts settle the chronology of the three poets *beyond any doubt*. Perhaps Mr. Banerji means to suggest that in the original story Buddha and Arjuna were overcome by temptation, but that the poets altered the facts with the said motives!

Then Mr. Banerji argues that, because the Buddhists, who originally wrote in Pali, took to Sanskrit from the time of Aśvaghōṣa, they must have been influenced by Kālidāsa. If Aśvaghōṣa followed Hindu models, why could he not have been influenced by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* instead of by Kālidāsa? As a matter of fact, the Buddhists wrote at first in Pali, because it was the language of the common people whom they wished to reach, but about the time of Aśvaghōṣa (100-150 A. C.), it had ceased to be spoken, and, besides, Buddhism had ceased to be popular and was becoming assimilated to Hinduism in its philosophy, ritual and medium of poetic composition. This inference is confirmed by the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions dating from c. 150 A. C.

Mr. Banerji argues that, because Kālidāsa depicted Agnivarṇa as a sensualist, he must have lived in the first century B. C. Does he mean to suggest that there were no sensual kings after that period?

Then he argues that the dignity of Dhārīnī's character proves that Kālidāsa must have lived at a time when she was well-remembered. Is it impossible for Kālidāsa to have conceived such a character without a model to go upon? And if 'Rāṇī Bhavānī of the first century' is respected even now, why should not Dhārīnī be remembered with respect long after she died?

Mr. Banerji then says that, according to the present *Smritis*, Sakuntala would not be a *Kshatriya*, but a *Varṇa-sankara*, and that, since Kālidāsa makes her marry Dushyanta, he must have lived before they were composed. But Kālidāsa did not invent the story of Sakuntala's marriage with Dushyanta. He took it from the *Mahābhārata*. Moreover, no *Smṛti* determines the caste of the issue of a Brahman father, originally a *Kshatriya*, and an *apsara* or celestial nymph. Besides, if the *Smritis* do not permit *asavarṇa-vivāha*, how do they happen to mention mixed castes?

Then he asks why, if Yaśōdharman had such a poet as Kālidāsa in his court, he selected Vāsula to write the inscriptions. We reply—for the same reason that Kambar and Ottakkūtṭar did not compose the inscriptions of Kulottunga.

Again Mr. Banerji, quoting Mr. H. P. Sāstri, says that the Huns began the destruction of the Roman empire in the first century A. C. Here, 'first' is an obvious mistake for 'the close of the fourth' (*Ency. Britt.*—'Huns'). When he says that the Huns attacked India on the decline of the Mauryas and that Pushyamitra checked their invasion, he confuses the Huns with the Bactrian Greeks; and when he says that Vikramāditya is credited with victory over them, he confuses them with the Sakas. He then misinterprets *akshōbhya* i. e., 'unshakeable' to mean 'untarnished.'

Finally, Mr. Banerji says, without authority, that the Chōlas and the Pāṇdyas were fighting with each other from the earliest times, and argues that, since the Chōlas were prominent in the second century A. C. Kālidāsa must have lived before that period. Why not long after?

We must, therefore, pronounce Mr. Banerji's attempt to revive the Vikrama theory of Kālidāsa's date to be a complete failure.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

"The Kesava Temple at Belur" published as the Second of the Series "Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore."

BY RAO BAHADUR MR. R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.,

Director of Archaeology in Mysore. Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.

EVERY admirer of Mysore will welcome this second volume of a series which is intended to reveal the archaeological beauties of the Mysore Province. Mr. Narasimhachar's Annual Reports have already carried the fame of Mysore far and wide and we feel sure that this series of monographs will excite the admiration of all those who, in Europe, America or Japan, will have the good fortune to read them, for a country which centuries ago could produce these wonderful masterpieces. If Northern India is famed for its remains of Mogul architecture, Mysore can show monuments of the Hoysala style which can bear comparison with the best that India can show elsewhere.

No better proof of this assertion is needed than the monograph under review. It deals with what we are inclined to describe as the masterpiece of the Hoysalas, the Belur Temple. This fane has long been known by the lovers of this style of architecture but unfortunately till now no non-Hindu scholar had been able to gaze upon the interior beauties of that wonderful building. This may account for the palm having been given to the Somnathpur and Halebid Temples. For the first time the interior splendours of the Belur Temple stand revealed to the world, as Mr. Narasimhachar has been able to get most successful photographs of the interior pillars and ceiling. A single glance at those illustrations is sufficient to show that hitherto the Belur Temple has not been really known and its architectural beauties have remained a sealed book to the outside world.

In reading this monograph or in admiring its illustrations one is struck more forcibly with the idea that the Hoysala style was producing its best in Mysore, when the Gothic style was rearing its stately cathedrals in Europe. In both countries the same period seems to have produced men of genius whose works we can wonder at but never imitate.

One is at the same time bound to ask oneself: What manner of men were those Hoysala rulers, mighty in battles and artists of the highest order in peace time?

The Hoysala kings eagerly recognised artistic genius and amply rewarded it. At the time, they were extending their conquests, and founding Mysore. Ideals of beauty freely blossomed under their rule, and it is no wonder that some of the master builders and master carvers who wrought at the wondrous fane at Belur

should have taken such pride in their exuberant genius as witness the titles they gave themselves: "Smiter of the crowd of titled sculptors," "a Siva to the Cupids titled sculptors," "a *Bherunda* to the *Sarabhas*' rival sculptors," etc.

We may now be allowed to allude to some of the wonderful feats of art referred to in the book:—One of the beautiful *madanakai* or bracket figures is a huntress, and she is followed by two attendants, one of whom gets a thorn removed from her leg by a seated figure, which uses a *needle* for the purpose. In the creeper-like canopy of another figure is sculptured on a fruit a *fly* perfect in every detail, on which a *lizard* is prepared to pounce. At another place, a chain of destruction is sculptured which commences with a double-headed *Ghandhabherunda* attacking a *Sarabha* which attacks a lion, which in its turn attacks an elephant, the latter seizing a snake in the act of swallowing a rat with the figure of a sage wondering at the sight! We do not know whether the incessant destructiveness of Nature, "red in tooth and claw" has been sermonised on stone more artistically anywhere else in the world. All lovers of "Hindu" art will certainly possess themselves of a copy at the earliest opportunity possible.

Mr. Narasimhachar's scrupulously minute description of the best features of the great temple at Belur discloses a most loving, loyal understanding and appreciation of its work, and this *loyalty* more than anything else, is a secret of his fame as an archæologist.

We would suggest to the gifted author that in future monographs he does not interleave his magnificent plates in the midst of reading matter. However careful one may be in turning over the leaves, the plates come in for more frequent handling than is necessary, and the result is not conducive to the preservation of the illustrations. As Sir John Marshall has done in the superb *Bijapur Architecture* brought out by the Imperial Department, the letter press and the plates may be grouped apart—the latter coming after the former. An index to each volume would also prove very convenient for reference.

K. R.

Archæological Report of the Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1918-19.

THERE is nothing of unusual interest in the Report before us, beyond the addition of nineteen new monuments to the Conservation List, and the declaring of eleven others as Protected. Towards the end of his Report, Mr. Longhurst tells us how he has been commissioned by the Madras Government to prepare a *standard* work on South Indian architecture, and how Sir John Marshall has suggested that he should start the work with a history of Pallava architecture. In pursuance of this request, Mr. Longhurst has taken the first step by adding a Second Part to the Report under review, in which the history of the Pallavas and of their architecture is gone into succinctly. At the outset, Mr. Longhurst confesses his indebtedness to the article on *the Pallavas* written by the late Mr. Venkayya, and to the two scholarly works, *the Pallavas* and *Pallava Antiquities* by Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil. It is not clear to us why Mr. Longhurst fails to mention in this connection the sumptuous volume on *Pallava Architecture* issued only ten years ago by Mr. Alexander Rea, illustrated profusely by magnificent plates. Though Mr. Rea's volume is concerned solely with the architecture of the Kanchipuram temples, yet, the history of the Pallavas summarised for us there, seems to us to be more suggestive and more exhaustive than Mr. Longhurst's. Mr. Rea refers *en passant* to the writings on the Pallavas by the two Elliots, Burnel, Foulkes, Rice, Fleet, the valuable papers contributed to the defunct *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* by Taylor and to other noteworthy sources. Mr. Longhurst on the other hand adopts and adapts Mr. Venkayya's and Dr. Dubreuil's findings and theories, and has nothing original to contribute. Mr. Rea wrote long before Dr. Dubreuil stepped into the arena, and in many important particulars, the latter has but refound Mr. Rea's conclusions. Be this as it may, we cannot understand how any *standard* work on South Indian architecture can be contemplated before we learn in no uncertain terms what is meant by the word "Pallavas," a new people, or simply a dynasty which gave its name to the occupied country, and how the soul of this great people was reflected in their unique architecture. These moot points are surmises still, some considering them as the offshoot of the Parthians, some as of the Bactrians, some that they are a slow amalgam of Sakaic foreigners with the Andhras and the Rattas, while others identify them with the great indigenous shepherd class, known in different parts of India, as Santals, Abirs, Dhangars, Gollas and Kurumbars. Till this mystery is cleared, and the dynasty seen in the clear light of authentic history, it is futile to talk of writing a *standard* work on South Indian architecture, the more so, as the world is equally in the dark as to who were the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas whose dynastic fame looms large in Peninsular history.

In the course of Mr. Longhurst's thesis on the Pallavas, occurs a passage

wherein our author after citing one of the well-known Mayidavōlu plates of Sivaskāndavarman, proceeds thus:—

"This charter gives us a glimpse into the conditions of life in Southern India in the beginning of the fourth century, and should prove of interest to some of our Indian political reformers who are never tired of stating on every possible occasion that before India came under British Rule, India enjoyed 'a Golden Age, when the arts flourished and every man enjoyed his own'".

We are not concerned here with the charter at all, nor as to how it should be interpreted. As far as we can see, no Indian politician has ever said that India enjoyed a Golden Age, before she came under *British Rule*. And even if any one has said so, the pages of an archæological report are not the place for polemical reflections, however apt they may be. Historians may do it, but an archæologist is no historian, and especially in India where the sons of the soil are but recently taking to a study of their antiquities, the writers of these Reports should take the greatest care lest Indians should shun co-operation in a field where their willing help would be of the greatest value.

K. R.

A Narrative of the Trip of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore to Kashmir in 1918

By R. H. CAMPBELL, ESQ., C.I.E., *Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.*

THIS short narrative, illustrated profusely, is conceived in a light, happy mood and is enlivened throughout with the author's genial humour. At one place, Mr. Campbell expresses his disappointment with the far-famed beauties of Srinagar and its surrounding scenery, but like a true philosopher, admits that this sour judgment may have been caused by the absence of ladies in the party, on the strength of the poets' song:—

"If woman can make the worst wilderness dear,
Think, think, what a heaven she must make of Kashmir."

Mr. Campbell himself has emulated Moore in his "Verses By An Idle Private Secretary." Here are a few of them:—

"*En route* we halted at a spring of water, cold and pure,
Called by the Maharaja's name, and said to be a cure
For indigestion, colic, cramp—in fact, for every ill.
So I threw all caution to the winds, and simply drank my fill;
But the so-called cure resulted in a feverish attack
Which reduced my vital energy and laid me on my back!"

Again,—

"His Highness did the local sights and climbed up many hills,
While the staff got influenza and the Doctor gave them pills."

Again,—

"But I have come to the conclusion that the beauties of Kashmir
Are somewhat overrated though my taste perhaps is queer ;
The dwellers in the arid plains round Delhi and Lahore
May think Kashmir a Paradise ; but give me Old Mysore,
Her lovely " garden " Capital, her temples known to fame
Her hills and dales and waterfalls and jungles full of game.
I am glad to feel the sentiment, where'er my steps may roam.

That though the world is beautiful, there is no place quite like home."

Every loyal son of Mysore should lift his hands in salaam to Mr. Campbell for his gallant praise of dear Old Mysore !

Mr. Campbell has not been so idle a visitor as he styles himself to be. His remarks on the sanitary condition of Srinagar, on the uncouth wooden posts which carry electric power along the hill sides to the Power Station at Mehara, the Government Silk Factory "run on eminently practical lines, with an elaborate water supply worked by electric power, on a very ingenious system which ensures an automatic protection against fire", the unrivalled beauties of the Nishat Bagh, the nature of the home-made honey presented to His Highness by the keeper of a Mahomedan saint's tomb at Bavanrishi, the recently excavated ruins of an ancient temple at Avantipur, eighteen miles from Srinagar, and several other things in the description of which quaint humour and shrewd observation are in pleasing proportions mixed.

"The Kashmir State badly needs a keen archæologist with some knowledge of scientific gardening and architecture and a free hand to restore these unique pleasure resorts to their former beauty."

Again,—

(Referring to an old watchman called Samad Khan) ".....he showed us six volumes full of his praises, and pointed with great pride to a testimonial from Lord Hardinge which alluded to his 'notoriety'!"

Mr. Campbell also tells us how no European can build or possess any house property in Kashmir, and how His Highness of Kashmir keeps a regular Cricketing Department in his Government, the members of which are paid very handsome salaries.

We are sure Mysoreans will thank Mr. Campbell for his most interesting chronicle of His Highness' trip to far-distant Kashmir.

K. R.

Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stupas at Sanchi.

No. I of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

THIS memoir appears under the authorship of Mr. Chanda, B.A., and is concerned mainly with the repudiation of Bühler's and Cunningham's theory that the script of the inscriptions on the stupas, railings, and gateways at Sanchi, discloses two variants, one older and the other later, and that the age for the first is about the time of Asōka, while the second is about the reign of Siri-Sātakaṇi (the third of the Andhra dynasty) lasting from 19 to 37 A. D.

In contradiction to this, Mr. Chanda sums up his conclusions thus :—

The Brahmi inscriptions from the third century B.C. to the second century A. D. may be chronologically arranged in the following order :—

1. Edicts of Asoka.
2. Nāgārjani Hill cave inscriptions of Asoka's grandson Dasaratha.
3. Besnagar Garuda pillar inscriptions.
4. (a) Inscriptions on the railings of Stupa I at Sanchi.
(b) Inscriptions on the railings of Stupa II at Sanchi.
(c) Barhut railing inscriptions.
(d) Inscriptions on the remnants of the Old Bodh-Gayā railing.
5. (a) Besnagar Garuda pillar inscription of the year 12 after the installation of Maharaja Bhāgavata.
(b) Inscription of Nāyanikā, widow of the king Sātakaṇi I in the Nānā-ghāt cave.
(c) Bharut *tōraṇa* inscription.
6. Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, King of Kalinga.
7. Sanchi *tōraṇa* inscriptions.
8. Inscriptions of the time of Sōdāṣa.
9. Inscriptions of the time of Kanishka.

Mr. Chanda derives satisfaction that these chronological conclusions of his are supported by the findings of Sir John Marshall arrived at by a "serious critical analysis of the sculptures carved upon these monuments," and who "used their style and technique as criteria to determine their date."

The monograph is illustrated by six carefully-visaged plates, showing the variety of scripts involved in the text.

K. R.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, 1918-19.

THE Report is very short, and does not record any arresting discovery or excavation. Detailed and elaborate pieces of conservation were executed at the Jauliar monuments in the Hazara District. A few pieces of Ghandhara sculptures were found in one of the courts at Takht-i-Bahi. A wooden door of old carving of a type now defunct, was found in Peshawar City. It is a pity that illustrations of the above are not given in the report, nor even detailed verbal descriptions. The Bilot Kafirkot Monuments are said, cryptically enough, to consist of detached Brahmanical temples on the right bank of the Indus. When were they set up, what deities were once worshipped in them, and who were the rulers in whose days they were set up? The Report has nothing to say on these very interesting points. The appendices, four in number, are filled as usual with administrative details, listed monuments, photographs taken, coin finds and the rest, none of which contain anything of note.

K. R.

Report of Archæological Survey, Burma, For the year ending March 1919.

THE feature of the Report is an interesting discussion regarding the derivation of the Shan alphabet. The learned Superintendent, Mr. Taw Sein Ko is of opinion that the alphabet is derived from the Thibetan rather than from the Burman or the Talaing alphabets. Mr. H. Krishna Sastry, to whom the question was referred, inclines to the belief that the Shan alphabet is more indebted to a Telugu-Canarese source than to any other. Mr. Taw Sein relies on two points, which, he alleges, are important; *viz.*, the contiguity of the ancient Shan Kingdom of Nanchao [extinguished by Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century] and Tibet, and secondly, the omission in both alphabets of certain cerebral letters.

Another interesting problem raised is whether the prevailing belief as to Kidāram, Kadaram or Kataha, conquered by the Chola King Rājendra I during the eleventh century A. D., being identical with Old Prome or Pegu, is historically correct. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai in an article in the defunct *Madras Review* of the year 1902, was the first to equate Kataha with Pegu, Mr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar in his *Ancient India*, and Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, took the same line as the author of "*The Tamils 1,800 years ago.*" But in 1918, M. Georges Coedès, the Librarian of the National Library at Bangkok, attacked this theory in his brilliant *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, No. 6, basing his conclusions on a passage in the Annals of the Song Dynasty.

This and two other inscriptions found in the Malay Peninsula make M. Coedès identify Katala and Srivijaya mentioned in the Chola record with Kedah, a place in the West Malay Peninsula, and to a small Malay state under the suzerainty of the Kingdom of Palembang, Sumatra, respectively. Mr. Duroiselle, the joint author of the Report under review, upholds the above interpretation of the Chola record, while Mr. Taw Sein differs from both. Another very interesting discussion is as to what country is meant by *Swarnadwipa* which occurs in a statement concerning the travels of one Dipankara during the eleventh century A. D. to the above country in search of a Guru. Sir Richard Temple, Babu Sarat Chandra Das, and the writer of the *Pegu Gazetteer*, all equate *Swarnadwipa* with Thaton in Lower Burma.

Mr. Taw Sein controverts this view, and says (somewhat unconvincingly) that the term refers to the modern village of Sonargaon in the District of Dacca in East Bengal.

There are other very valuable topics of absorbing interest dealt with in the Report, and we would strongly urge all those who feel an interest in Ancient and Medieval Burma, to go through it in full.

K. R.

Annual Report on Epigraphy, For the year 1918-19, Southern Circle, Madras.

RAO Sahab Mr. Krishna Sastry's Report is as usual of very great interest. About 900 inscriptions have been copied during the year, 274 of which belong to the Cholas, 60 to the Pandyas, 89 to Vijayanagar, 38 to Western Chalukyas, 14 to the Pallavas, 15 to the Hoysalas, 12 to the Sambuvarayas and 8 to the Yadavas, besides other records of the Rashtrakutas, the Eastern Chalukyas, the Mysore Chiefs, the Gajapathis and so on.

Shiyali, one of the sea-board taluks of the Tanjore District, is noted in South Indian religious annals as having been the birth place of the great Thiru-Jnāna-sambhanda of the Saivas, and of Saint Thirumangai-Alvar of the Vaishnavas. The first is said to have flourished during the seventh century, and the other, a century later.

The Saiva saint has sung in his immortal *Devaram hymns* of eleven famous shrines of Siva, in this taluk, while the second saint has sung in the famous *Nālāyira-prabhandum* of an equal number of shrines dedicated to Vishnu. With all this greatness, Mr. Sastry complains that this sacrosanct taluk is devoid of any architectural remains worth the name. The zeal of the powerful Nāttukōtai community in the cause of religion has proved a bane to the archæologist, and we sympathise with Mr. Sastriar, when he regrets the exhaustive renovation that has been carried out lately to the few structures that lasted all these centuries, "sometimes without even a notice to this Deptt." Another piece of vandalism mentioned in the Report is where an ancient Siva temple at Bhīmavaram near Sāmalkot has had its valuable inscriptions on walls and basement completely plastered over.

The Dādāpuram records of Rājarāja I state how his elder sister the famous Kundavai built three temples at that place, one dedicated to Vishnu, the second to Siva, and a third to Jina. Except the last, the other two temples exist to-day.

A very interesting record has come to light from Tirubhuvani in the South Arcot District. In the time of Rājadhirāja I, a charity was instituted in the temple of the God Vīranārāyaṇa by the Minister of the reigning Chola King, and its administration was made over to the Great Assembly of the village, and it was styled after the name of the reigning King Rajēndrasōlan-uttamāgram. Land was purchased to the extent of 72 *veli*, yielding an annual rental of 12,000 *kalams* of paddy. Among the items of expenditure to be met from this rental, occur the following :—

(1) the pay of three teachers each for inculcating the Rig-Veda and the Yajur-Veda, and of one teacher each for Chandōgasāma, Talavakārasāma, Āpūrva, Vājasanēya, Bōdhayanēya, and Satyāshta-sūtra, thus making a total of 12 teachers ;

(2) for one person each for expounding the Vēdānta, Vyākaraṇa, Rūpavatāra, Sri-Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Manu-shastra, and Vaikhāṇasa-sāstra ;

(3) for sixty students each of the Rig-Veda and Yajur-Veda, twenty of Chandōgasāma and fifty of other śāstras ;

(4) for 70 other students of the Vēdānta, Vyākaraṇa, and Rūpavatāra, thus bringing the total of teachers and taught to 260. About 9,500 *kalams* of paddy out of the total 12,000 were spent annually in this way, the remaining 2,500 *kalams* alone being reserved for offerings, worship, processions of the deity and other temple ceremonials. Mr. Sastry says of this record that "it adds to the already collected vast amount of epigraphical evidence to show that temple charities were not exclusively meant for ceremonials in the temple, but also for scientific (Sāstraic) and religious (Vedic) education."

No. 198 of 1919, dated in the 27th year of the reign of Kulōttunga I. is of special interest as it records that the assembly of Thirubhuvanamahādēvi-Chaturvēdimangalam met together in obedience to a royal order requiring them to adjudge the merit of a work composed by a poet, by name Thirunārāyanabhattachan and dealing with the exploits of the great monarch. Its title is said to be *Kulōttunga-sōlan-Charitai*. "It must have been a highly interesting historical work.....and its discovery, if made, must lead to a flood of light being let in for the elucidation of Chola history." The poet (it may be said) was heard by the assembly, and he was recorded with the grant of half a *veli* and two *ma* of land to be enjoyed in perpetuity.

There are a few inscriptions which throw light on the administration of criminal law in the thirteenth century A. D.

(1) While hunting, a man aimed an arrow at another, mistaking him for an animal. By the effect of the shot, he was laid up in bed for some days and died. The Brahmans and *Nāttār* assembled together decided that as the two were not on inimical terms before, death was only accidental, and that, on behalf of the deceased, the accused must provide for a lamp in the temple of Bhūmisvara at Marukkānam,

(2) One Sedirayan caused the death of another by name Eran, by some indiscreet act of his. The uncle of the former was made to grant lands to keep a lamp burning in the temple of Mūlasthānamudaya Mahādēva at Munnūr.

(3) Two persons went a-hunting on horseback. A deer running between them, one of them aimed an arrow which missing the animal, killed the man. The *Periyanāttar* (i. e., *Great Assembly*) ordered gift of sheep for burning a lamp.

Three more cases, similar in detail, are given in the Report. We see how in the days of the Cholas, Village Assemblies had jurisdiction even in criminal matters affecting life and death, and how, even crime, when it was unintentional, was made to serve *religious* interests. We have also seen how these same Village Assemblies had the ordering of charitable investments when any such were made to the temples in their limits. Thirdly, we have seen how these *Nāttars* were required to adjudicate rewards to poets and other men of letters on the order of their king. Thus self-government, within certain limits, seems to be no novelty, at least to the people of South India, from olden days.

We have made this review long enough already, and we wish to close our remarks with our congratulations to Rao Saheb Mr. H. Krishna Sastry on the production of one more very interesting and instructive Report.

K. R.

Sources of Vijianagar History.*

EDITED BY MR. S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYENGAR, RAO SAHEB.

University Professor of Indian History and Archaeology.

WHILE conveying our hearty thanks to the Syndicate of the Madras University for the presentation of this valuable work, we have also to apologise to them for having conveyed our acknowledgments in the first instance to a wrong quarter in the last issue of our Journal. The book is exceedingly interesting and meets a long-felt want.

Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyengar himself made an earnest appeal several years ago "for a better, more rational and systematic study of the literature of the country" with a view to make it yield material for the reconstruction of our history. To quote his own words, "Inscriptions and archæological research can after all provide the dry bones only. All else will have to be got from literature..... The work on the first two has been considered to belong to the province of Government, for it is beyond the resources of private work..... Work upon the third is so far left entirely to the patriotic lovers of literature..... It is a duty that every one owes to his country to do all in his power to advance the study of this literature."† It was indeed fortunate therefore that the work done in this direction by Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati, B.A., to whom we primarily owe the collection of the extracts before us, should have come to Mr. Krishnaswami

* The Madras University Historical Series I. Price Rs. 4-8-0. 6 shillings 9 pence.

† Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar's "Ancient India", pages 316 and 329.

Aiyengar's notice, and that the task of direction, selection and co-ordination should have been entrusted into such safe and able hands. Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar has also contributed a very helpful general introduction which focusses attention on the principal features of interest in the extracts.

The book, which is the first of its kind on South Indian History, deservedly deals with the latest South Indian Empire—Vijayanagar. The extracts help one a long way to realising the actual political life and condition of the Vijayanagar Empire. They throw light also on the high culture attained by women in those days and on the martial spirit of the now possible South Indian and the details of military organisation of the Empire. One is disappointed, however, to find that greater prominence has not been given in the selection of extracts and in the General Introduction, to the actual life of the people as distinguished from the activities of the Imperial Court. It is in the reconstruction of the history of the daily life of the people and of their common institutions that the true value of historical research mainly lies. Dates and dynasties are but convenient pegs on which to hang the endless thread of human development; and a discussion confined to them alone is often fruitless, however interesting or valuable they may be from the purely scientific or academic standpoint. It is to be hoped therefore that extracts dealing with the life and institutions of the people will figure more largely in the Source-Books that are to follow.

In conclusion, we would again convey our acknowledgments to the triple benefactors, the University of Madras, Professor S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar and Mr. A. Rangaswami Saraswati for the valuable and interesting volume they have presented to students of South Indian History.

A. V. R.

The History of Aryan Rule in India.

(E. B. HAVELL, HARRAPS).

THE publishers Messrs. George G. Harrap & Co. deserve to be congratulated for publishing this splendid and excellently got-up book. To students of Indian history Mr. Havell is a familiar name in matters connected with architecture, painting and sculpture. This new venture, a synthetic construction of Indian history from the earliest times up to the death of Akbar the Great, based on materials in dealing with which he is a past-master, is beyond all praise. The old, worn-out fields of antiquarian research where Mr. Vincent Smith and the orthodox historians of earlier times have made themselves famous do not appear to the author to present sufficient data for constructing a true synthetic history of India. The psychology underlying the Aryan modes of expression appeal to him most strongly and, add to this, a refreshing sympathy with Indian aspirations, it is no wonder he has been enabled to produce this epoch-making work. 'Through succeeding ages one increasing purpose runs' and it is Mr. Havell's aim to establish—and he has amply succeeded in the endeavour—that the British, the

present Aryan rulers of India, are animated by the same love of justice and fair play, the same high principles of conduct and respect for humanitarian laws which guided the ancient Aryan statesmen and law-givers in their relation with the masses of the population. He explains the acceptance of British hegemony and the splendid rally to the cause of Right versus Might during the recent world-war as being due to the same principle.

One of the outstanding features of the late war has been to focus attention on the Muhammadan world. This has elicited a large amount of sympathy from all quarters more especially in India where the largest mass of the thinking Muslim population for centuries has made its home. Mr. Havell's book sets right some erroneous ideas with regard to Muhammadan influence on Indian art. It may be asserted, he says, that the correct interpretation of Indian history must be based upon a recognition of the predominance of Aryan inspiration in Indian art. History is no longer a record of wars, conquests, chronicles of Worthlesses I, II & III; not a vast Mississippi of lies nor a storehouse of falsehoods, but with him it traces the growth and development of civilisation itself with reference to the springs of human conduct and human action. He tells us how the old Aryan constitution was framed for the greatest good of the largest number. No observation anywhere is too small for him to be rejected; its importance in the Aryan economy is duly taken note of.

For a true understanding of Indian history, it is necessary adequately to appreciate the underlying principle of Aryan life and thought which was religious. The great religions of the world like Buddhism, Jainism and Islam are largely indebted to Brahmanism which in its turn has assimilated the best in them. Culturally, the Aryan influence over civilisation was supreme. The Arabs were greatly influenced by Indo-Aryan culture. What was best in Buddhism was absorbed by Brahmanism and the former had to seek shelter in a foreign land for the outward manifestations of the Buddha. Islam, the supposed cult of the sword, underwent new transformations. Islamic culture became a distinct branch of the Indo-Aryan tree. In India it was Indianised and the Din Ilahi of Akbar was an attempt at a world religion. The simple creed of the ignorant, 'the Fatherhood of Vishnu and the motherhood of Lakshmi' was preached time and again to revive fading beliefs in the masses and act as a spell to bring round the recalcitrant to the Hindu fold.

We are not concerned in this brief review with Mr. Havell's masterly analysis of Buddhism as a State religion about the time of Asoka, how the absorption of the best intellects into the monastery weakened military ardour and, buffeted by Jainism on the one side and revived cult of Brahmanism on the other, in addition to its own inherent weakness and the hero-worship of Buddha himself, Buddhism lost ground. The interested student can read these for himself in Mr. Havell's pages.

Mr. Havell is a staunch nationalist and he describes to us minutely the principles and working of the Aryan constitution. The Aryan village organisation continued up to British times. There were Parliamentary Institutions in Buddhist India. The Aryans had a genius for organisation. Megasthenes in his description of the Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta gives us an account of the centralisation of the Village Communities, the Co-operative system, Craft-guilds, Public Works,

Navigation, Municipal Self-Government, Regulations against Gambling and Drinking, Departments of Agriculture, Justice, Revenue, etc. With the break-up of the Mauryan Empire, the centre of Aryan civilisation was shifted to South India which influenced early Dravidian life and thought. Aryan culture gave India its high place amongst the civilisations of the world and inspired its greatest intellectual achievements. The Dark Ages of Europe were an age of light and reason in India. Indian culture and Indian thought profoundly influenced the Arab who carried on the torch of civilisation to the western world.

Fergusson is attacked with the same amount of justice with which Vincent Smith and others are criticised for their ill-informed and ill conceived interpretation of isolated facts in Indian history. The arbitrary classification in architecture into several styles and the grouping of structures under one or the other heading in similar fashion by Fergusson is not approved of. The same craftsmen are responsible for the structures of the so-called varieties of styles of architecture, the same basic principles underlie the Indo-Aryan village plan, and their early structures are traced through the Mussalman, Dravidian and Chalukyan styles of architecture in India to Indo-Aryan influence. The Indian synthesis of religion and of art is marvellously constructed by Mr. Havell and the gratitude of the Indian public goes forth to him in ample measure.

Indian loyalty again is not of the lip-deep kind. It is not born of attachment to European political theories. The King is the vicegerent of God upon earth,—as in Europe it was attempted to be symbolised in the crowning of Charles in 800 A. D., Even Asoka and Akbar made use of this deep-rooted Aryan sentiment for their Sangha and the Din Ilahi. The Aryan constitution was therefore not wrung after political struggles and civil war from unwilling war lords but it was built up by the highest intelligence of the people on the basis of the village communities. The central government was representative of the people and limited by unwritten laws. "The philosophic scheme of Indo-Aryan polity in which the common law of the land, formulated by the chosen representatives of the people, had a religious as well as a legal sanction, and represented the highest power of the State to which even the king and his ministers must bow." The social customs and proprietary laws of conquered peoples were respected.

Mr. Havell's volumes and Prof. Geddes' lectures on town-planning teach us more 'than the sages can' and the enlightened reader is invited to a detailed and comprehensive study of the book under review. We may conclude that "the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other empire in the world" on account of the ancient Aryan system of self-government. Akbar's endeavours though they failed in his time, are "still worthy of imitation by rulers and statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill." It may be recollected that Lord Morley who recognised the village as the unit of administration in Indian polity seriously suggested a resort to the old systems of village administration as far as may be practicable and attempts are now being made to revive the old village panchayats.

S. S.

BOOKS ON INDIAN HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY, RELIGION, Etc.

History of Aryan Rule in India from the earliest times to the death of Akbar, by E. B. HAVALL, illustrated, 15s. Rs. 9—6—0, *Harrap.*

Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, by ANNANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 21s. net, Rs. 13—2—0, *Harrap.*

Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists, by SISTER NIVEDITA and ANNANDA COOMARASWAMY, 12s. 6d. net Rs. 7—13—0, *Harrap.*

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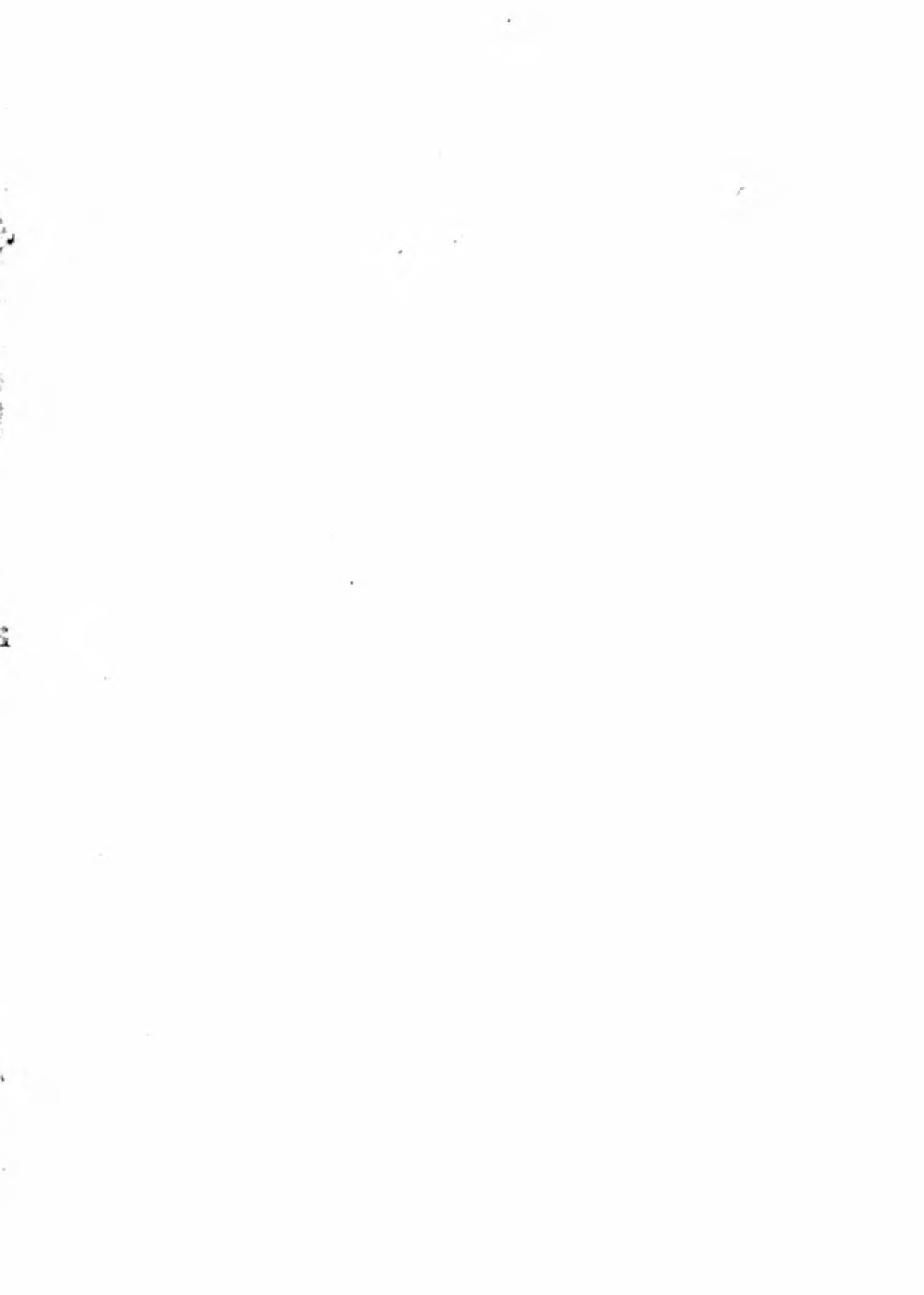
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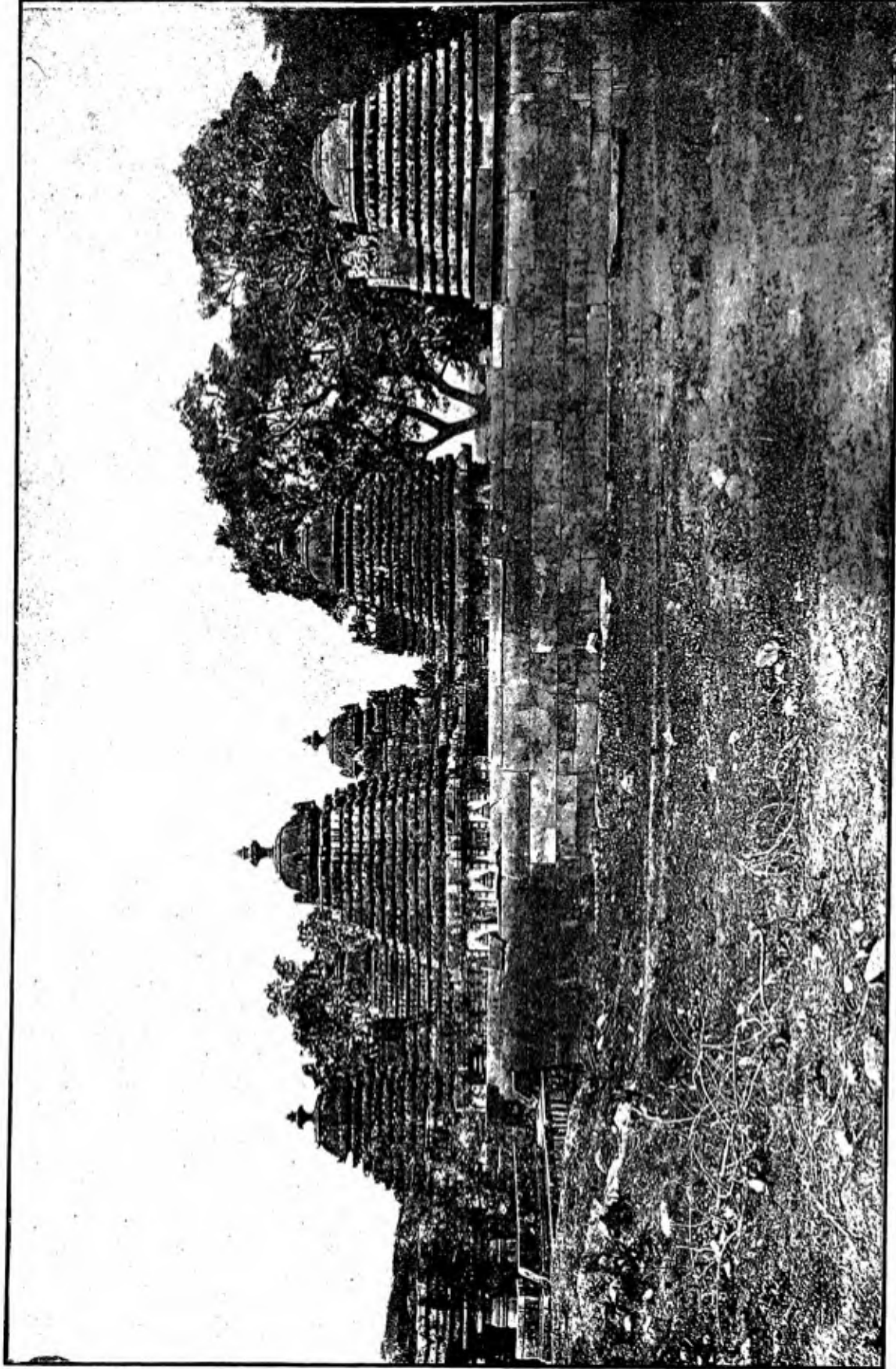
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LAKSHMIDEVI TEMPLE AT DODDAGADDAVALLI.

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[No. 3.]

THE ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN THEATRE

By K. G. SESA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

THE materials at present available for an account of the ancient South Indian theatre are very meagre ; for practically they are contained in about a dozen lines of *Arankērru Kādai* of *Chilappadikāram* and the learned commentary of Adiyarkku-Nallar on those lines. The commentary however is very elaborate ; and in Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Swaminatha Ayyar's edition of the epic, it covers over twenty pages. It is a matter for extreme regret that even in the days of the commentator most of the authoritative works on Tamil dramaturgy appear to have been lost either entirely or almost so. It is clear that there were several such works, some of which must be assigned apparently to very ancient times. Among these may be mentioned *Agathyam*, *Bharatham*, *Muruval*, *Jayantham*, *Guna Nul*, *Seyirriyam*, *Kūṭṭu Nul*. It is obvious that there must have been a large body of ancient dramatic works in Tamil to have necessitated so many treatises on the grammar of the drama. Indeed, the classical division of Tamil into *Iyal*, *Isai* and *Natakam* shows that the Tamil of the drama had even in the days of the ancient grammarians attained an independent position of importance so as to demand a separate treatment. All that literature has long been lost, and with it has disappeared very valuable evidence of the life and thought of the ancient Tamil community. For

unately, *Chilappadikāram*, which is epic, lyric and dramatic in composition (being for that reason called Mu-Tamil-Nūl), has enabled much valuable information relating to the subject of the ancient Tamil drama to be embodied by the learned scholiast in his commentary.

Nātakam, according to the dramaturgists, is only a sub-division of *Kūṭṭu*, or dance. Indeed, the ancient Tamil people seem to have been very fond of dancing. In *Pura-ṇorul Venbā Mālai*, which is an ancient work relating to the grammar of warfare and the affairs of kingdoms as conceived by the early Tamils, we read that the cattle-raiders who essentially formed the advance-guard of an invading army, celebrated the conclusion of the raid by holding a dance in which youthful warriors and lovely maids joined. Indeed they were a joyous people, these ancient Tamils; and they delighted in music and dancing in times of war as well as in times of peace, not infrequently over a draught of 'the palm tree's purest, sweetest wine'. It is not strange that in the development of their favourite dances, they ultimately evolved several forms of stage-play in which the prominent ideas and ideals of their national life and character were presented in action. *Kūṭṭu* began as a pastime by which the ancient Tamils sought to give effective outlet to the exuberance of the wild joys of living; and when their life became complex and more civilized, as it had become even in the days of the *Tol-Kāppiyam*, the earliest Tamil grammar extant, the genius of the race, no less than the spreading influence of their Aryan neighbours, made the people realize the true object of life as consisting in the attainment of the *Purushārta*, that is *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma*, *Mōksha*; and their very pastime was so developed by the poets and teachers of the community as to lead to the attainment of that object. The institution of the dance was purified and brought under two main divisions *Sānti Kūṭṭu* intended for the delectation and instruction of the more enlightened section of the community, and *Vinōdha Kūṭṭu* intended to be confined only to the backward sections. *Sānti Kūṭṭu* embraced among others *Abhinayam* and *Nātakam*. *Abhinayam* still exists as an institution on the east coast in the familiar nautch, and in the Malayalam country in the *Katha Kali*, which is of the nature of a dramatic performance in dumb-show to the accompaniment of music, the meaning of the performers being conveyed by a variety of recognized gestures, explained in detail in the commentary to which allusion has already been made. The nautch on the east coast has of late fallen into disfavour owing to the fact that the professional nautch-dancer is generally a fallen woman; but apparently *Chilappadikāram* counted among the artiste's qualifications not only beauty of form and proficiency in music and dancing, but also birth in a good family. However early Tamil works show that dancing girls and prostitution were

recognized as a necessary social institution of *Marutham*, the land of paddy fields, wealth and luxury, or in other words, the civilized cities and towns; so that it may not be far fetched, especially having regard to the description of their life in *Manimekhalai* (Canto 18) to posit that even in very early times the professional dancers in the Tamil land had become a prostitute class. In Malabar, the *Katha Kali* is also fast losing its hold on the people, owing to the advent of the modern vernacular drama. *Nāṭakam* corresponds to our modern conception of the drama. Among the various classes of *Vinōdha Kūṭṭu* may be mentioned *Kuravai*, *Thōlpāvai*, *Vidhūshaka Kūṭṭu* and *Veri-āttu*. *Kuravai* is well-known even now in Travancore though its original high purpose seems to have been forgotten by the people. The 17th canto of *Chilappadikāram* which is called *Aychiyar Kuravai* is a very informing instance of this form of composition. It is a performance in which seven, eight or nine women linking their hands form a circle, and dance singing a song in praise of pure love or the victories of a popular hero. The *Kuravai* in *Chilappadikāram* is in praise of Sree Krishna, and we read there that several plays relating to the life story of the infant Krishna used to be enacted. *Thōlpāvai* was well-known till a few years back on the east coast. It was a doll-show, enacting to simple village audiences great stories of gods, kings or heroes. I have myself seen such a representation of Harischandra's life-story. *Vidhūshaka Kūṭṭu* is familiar to all readers of the Sanskrit plays and to all those who have attended the vernacular stage plays enacted in these days by the various Tamil dramatic troupes. *Veri-āttu* also still survives among the backward classes, who not infrequently draw their inspiration in life from the dancer who is supposed to be possessed by a spirit. The object of all these different varieties of pastime was in different degrees to elevate and uplift popular life by holding up to their admiring attention the life and deeds of great men or the Gods. To that end the emotional constitution, rather than the intellectual, was appealed to naturally by the teachers and poets of the land; and it is impossible to over-estimate the influence of these plays and pastimes on the national character of the people.

Naturally among the agencies appealing to the emotional nature, one of the most potent is music; and it was freely employed in connection with the various plays, pantomimes and pastimes. The original tunes to which the songs were sung were apparently the tunes of the *Devaram*; but they have on the east coast become a thing of the past in spite of the professional *Devaram*-singers. In the *Katha Kalis* in Malayalam also several of those tunes are found, and they are even now sung by Malayalam actors. I may instance *Indalam*, *Inissai*, *Kolli*, *Padi*. The instruments, like *Yal* on which these tunes were played are now lost.

It is also clear that in those days there were special sites called *Arungus* where the plays and pantomimes were enacted. It is inconceivable that a people who had a highly developed city-life as the *Marutha-Mākkal* enjoyed, were strangers to a stage. In every temple in Travancore there are places known as *Kali Thattus*, where *Chākkiyār Kūṭṭu*, *Pādagam* and other representations are held for the benefit of those attending the temple. *Chākkiyār Kūṭṭu* is the recitation of passages from the Purānas with commentaries by the Chākkiyār. The Chākkiyārs are the offspring of adulterous Namburi women, born after the commencement of their guilt, but before its discovery and their expulsion from caste. Boys so born who have already been invested with the sacred thread become Chākkiyārs, and those who have not been so invested become *Nambiyārs*. *Pādagams* are also recitations of Purānic stories with appropriate gestures and modulation of voice, so as to make the performance graphic. These *Kali Thattus* are the recognized *Arungus* for the presentation of religious stories in dramatic form. There are also *Kūṭṭu Ambalams* in temples in the west coast in the outer yard of the temple, which are intended for similar purposes. For secular subjects to be enacted there were assigned sites with the necessary decorations as conceived by the people for whom they were intended, in conspicuous localities in towns, and these correspond to our modern theatre. An enquiry into the subject will convince one of the high stage of civilisation that the Tamil people had attained in early days.

BHASA'S SVAPNA VASAVADATTA

(Translated specially for the Society's Journal.)

BY MR. K. RAMAPISHAROTHI, ESQ., M.A.

ACT II.

(Then Enters the Maid.)

Maid.—Here, Kunjarika, where is our mistress, Padmavati,—where ? Do you say she is playing with a ball, nearby the bower of Madhavi-creepers ? All right. I shall go to her (walking about and looking). Ha, to this same place does she come, playing with the ball, with the flowers pendant drooping down, her face beautiful with large drops of sweat due to the exercise and looking touchingly handsome. I too shall go in that direction.

(EXIT.)

(Then enter Padmavati playing with Vasavadatta and her Maids.)

Vāsavadatta.—Here ! Here is your ball.

Padmāvati.—My dear, enough of this.

Vāsavadatta.—Playing too much with the ball, your hands have become red, and appear to be anothers.

Maid.—Play, mistress, play. Enjoy to the fill, this your happy period of maidenhood.

Padmāvati.—Lady, do you mean to laugh at me ?

Vāsavadatta.—No, no, lady ; you look more handsome. I see your fair face all round, as it were.

Padmāvati.—Away, don't you mock me.

Vāsavadatta.—I am silent, my would be daughter-in-law of Mahāsēna.

Padmāvati.—Who is this Mahāsēna ?

Vāsavadatta.—Pradyotha, King of Ujjain. And because of his great army, he is known as Mahāsēna.

Maid.—But my mistress does not desire any union with him.

Vāsavadatta.—Then with whom does she desire ?

Maid.—There is the king of the Vatsas by name Udayana, my mistress loves his virtues.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) She desires my lord as her husband (aloud.) And wherefore ?

Maid.—Out of loving sympathy.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) I know, I know, even I was thus touched.

Maid.—Hope he is not ugly ?

Vāsavadatta.—Ho no, he is handsome.

Padmāvati.—Lady, how do you know ?

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) My partiality for him has made me trespass modesty. What shall I do now ? All right (aloud.) Lady, so say the people of Ujjain.

Padmāvati.—That is true. Surely he is not rare in Ujjain. Beauty is delightful to all.

(ENTERING.)

Dhātri.—Success to our princess ! Princess, you have been given away.

Vāsavadatta.—Madam, to whom ?

Dhātri.—To Udayana, the King of the Vatsas.

Vāsavadatta.—Is he well now ?

Dhātri.—In good health has he come. And he has accepted the princess.

Vāsavadatta.—Impossible.

Dhātri.—What impossibility is there ?

Vāsavadatta.—Not something indeed. Only having bemoaned thus, how can he be indifferent now ?

Dhātri.—The hearts of great men have unique steadiness and are based on Āgamas.

Vāsavadatta.—Did he himself choose her ?

Dhatri.—No ; he came here on some other business ; but the King, quite taken up with his nobility, learning, and handsomeness, gave her to him of his own accord.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) Then my lord is not to blame.

(ANOTHER ENTERING.)

Maid.—Hasten, mistress, hasten. This is an auspicious day, and our Queen says that the Kanthuk-mangala ceremony must be performed to-day even.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) The more they hasten, the blinder does my heart become.

Dhātri.—Come on, Princess, come on.

(EXEUNT.)

End of Act II.

REMARKS.

INTRODUCTION.

At the beginning of the second Act we meet with another peculiarity of Sanskrit dramatists and this is but sensible enough. The majestic dénouement of the main plot our dramatists do not want to be tampered with by descending to the connecting links. They have dug canals, as it were, to join the main rivers. Such correspond to the introductory scenes of Shakespearian dramas, and their function is to join the main elements by supplying the missing links.

The speech of the maid points to the effect that Vasavadatta is well established in her new home, and that she has got over the keenness and greenness of the wounds. This necessarily presupposes the lapse of at least some days between the first act and the incidents narrated in the second, the more so when we remember that Vāsavadatta has so far got over her sorrow as to indulge in criticisms on the topic of loves and loved.

In this introductory scene, we find another peculiarity that there is only one individual, the other being absent. She hears the reply of this absentee. This is rather queer, though such instances are not very rare.

NOTES.—The scene opens with a series of repartees and Vāsavadatta here puts forth all her wit. The words have been so selected that they are capable of a two-fold interpretation, an exquisite quality charmingly peculiar only to the extremely plastic Sanskrit. All these are at Padmāvati's expense. Here we may also note a hidden purpose, and that is the natural curiosity on the part of Vāsavadatta to know something of him on whom Padmāvati has set her heart. 'Rāga' means both "red colour," as also love or the blush of love. In short this means that it was time for her to get herself married. Padmāvati is not slow to understand the joke at her expense and she points forth a warning. This brings forth another worse still. 'Vara' means both 'the best' and lover. It means 'I see a lover's face all round.' There is here an evident effort to mine and explore the secret love of Padmāvati; she here tries to know whom she dotes upon, whether it was the Maḥasēna's son whom she had heard pronounced as her probable husband or some body else; but her reply prevents any further prying and she hazards a venture,—a venture which ladies alone are capable. She says 'well I am silent, my would-be-daughter-in-law of Mahasena,' and with it we may see, as it were, the piercing and keen glance which Vāsavadatta darts forth from under her lashes. Indeed it is an interesting group sitting thus, these two noble damsels surrounded by the maids, in that charming garden, Vāsavadatta disappointed so far in her attempts while Padmāvati is ignorant of her friend's aim.

Yet the last attempt was productive enough. Vāsavadatta had by this bold stroke turned the conversation into the groove which she wanted it to take. Not only that, Vāsavadatta had by this produced a certain amount of curiosity in Padmāvatī to know something of this king, and hence she asks who this king is, and Vāsavadatta, exultantly enough, holds brief for her father and thus indirectly for her brother. And we may possibly enough charge every word of hers with a note of praise. Even the very order of the words is significant. Vāsavadatta desires the two to wed each other, not only because the prospective lover is her own brother but also because she has from the very beginning—and this has now only increased—entertained for Padmāvatī, a sisterly affection and she here tries her best to bring about the wedlock by implanting in her young friend's mind some aspects of his greatness. He is in the first place, the crown prince of Ujjain. It is by far the most important city in ancient India. All Indian bards alike sing its greatness and splendour, so hyperbolically that we are sometimes tempted to think it is a mythical city. Whatever it be, the city has its own charms, and is by itself capable of firing any virgin heart. And we maintain that Vāsavadatta herself must have intended that idea too.

The next word also is equally significant. Why did she adopt this particular word in preference to any other? We are inclined to think that milady here intends to emphasize the extremely loving and affectionate nature of the king. The word used is 'raja.' He is not alone the protector, and the warrior but he shines i.e., has become famous for his loving heart. By using this particular expression Vāsavadatta intends her to understand that she will at the Court of Ujjain find a most happy abode. Note again, his name is Pradyotha and it means 'shining more and more,' i.e., one who becomes greater and greater every day. In other words her father-in-law is yet growing in fame, and this suggests that she has a long vista of happiness before her. And lastly there need be no fear that his royal splendour may set. To maintain and uphold his royalty, he has behind him a splendidly equipped army, highly efficient and strong. Of course this army is big enough as Vāsavadatta herself tells us, big enough as to have earned for its master the title 'Mahasēna'—'the man of the big army.'

Thus Vāsavadatta holds forth to the virgin heart of Padmāvatī,—a heart which Vāsavadatta supposes is yet undisturbed by any flashes of love for anybody,—this Prince of Ujjain, her own brother, in all his splendour. She could not here be more explicit since that would endanger her own position, and that for the world she would not do. By glances, by hints, and by suggestions she must convey and in this she has fully succeeded. Gradually and in order she holds forth power and pomp and position, happiness and pleasure

and love. Understanding Vāsavadatta and her position, the critic cannot be found fault with, if he here finds a studied effort on the part of Vāsavadatta to bring about this match, and thus ensure their mutual affection and love which began under so very trying circumstances.

And that Vāsavadatta also intends some such praise is clear from the fact of her keen sense of disappointment and regret which she implicitly manifests in her painfully anxious query that follows the speech of the maid. That the maid must have caught something of the spirit of Vāsavadatta is evident from her using a word pregnant with meaning. It means lord, i.e., lord of heart and happiness.

Vāsavadatta is keenly disappointed; never had she entertained even a doubt that Padmāvatī would refuse the hand of 'Mahasena's son' the more so since negotiations for their union had already commenced. Yet the natural curiosity of her sex once more prompts her to discover the love of Padmāvatī, and she never asks who he is on whom Padmāvatī has set her heart.

The answer to this question is quite unlooked for. She was never more unprepared to hear such an answer. Udayana, her husband, to be the idol of her heart! To hear it pronounced by the maid of the lady in her presence uncontradicted, that was something terrible. In that soliloquy of a single line, we have the whole character of Vāsavadatta. She is not jealous, she is not angry, she is only sorry for herself. If there is any anger that is only against herself and Yougandharāyana. What must have been her feelings? The noble mind preserves an imperturbable calm and she does not betray her feelings either by word or deed. This is true nobility. In all her divine garb she betrays not even in her thought the slightest the faintest wave of jealousy.

Putting her own condition aside, she inquired why. The answer to this question is as unexpected as the first revelation. It is because of sympathy. Here again she is the cause. She causes her lord grievous pain, but worse than that, enlists Padmāvatī's sympathy, and through this a rival to herself. Her position is truly dramatic. Every word she may utter is pregnant with danger to her present position. Even the faintest whisper of her story would completely expose the risky and hazardous enterprise of Yougandharāyana, on the success of which depends her future happiness; nor could she be here completely silent, for she herself had drawn on the conversation, and a withdrawal at this stage will put her in an awkward predicament. At every step, at every word the web closes round her tighter and tighter, and the subsequent unweaving becomes harder and harder. It requires all her firmness to preserve at least an apparent calm and indifference. She could not speak, and yet she must speak. Was ever woman placed in a more awkward predicament?

The maid now saves her. She asks her if he is ugly. All her pent up feelings now find vent, and too vehemently, she says he is very handsome. But, as fate would have it, her very vehemence carries her too far, and places her in a false light. The question comes quick and that from Padmāvati—whence her knowledge? To Padmāvati we cannot at the present moment attribute any keen sense of feminine nicety. Here we find only the impulse to satisfy her natural curiosity. Of course Vāsavadatta herself admits this violation, and hence her soliloquy. The answer is silly, and is not satisfactory enough to explain her first vehemence. But Padmāvati has no eyes or ears for this. She wants to know how far her statements are true, whether they are firmly founded, and, so far as this is considered, the answer is sufficient, and Padmāvati begins to weave her dream of beauty.

There is however one statement in her speech which admits of the other interpretation, and that is 'beauty is delightful to all.' This may be taken as the reflection on the answer, and how far it satisfies the violation referred to above. Here she may be understood as conceiving that there is no violation of the feminine sense of modesty, inasmuch as the female world is justified in paying homage to beauty. At this moment it may not be proper to accept this idea, for Padmāvati has the whole world centred in herself and she has no thought for the proprieties of her sex, except those in their broader outlines.

Any way Padmāvati is satisfied. She is happy in the thought that he on whom she has fixed her thought is handsome. Vāsavadatta is conscious of her own mistake, and the probability of a rival to herself in the affections of Udayana. Naturally there is silence for a moment, and it is broken by the entrance of the chamberlain, bringing in the most welcome news that Padmāvati has been given away. Joy and sorrow hang on the lips of the new-comer. A few anxious seconds and then is heard the very pleasing name, Udayana, and Padmāvati becomes steeped in an excess of bliss.

On the other hand Vāsavadatta forgets everything. First and foremost the name recalls her suffering lover, and the first question that trembles on her lips is, 'Is he well now?' Really this kind of love is something above the normal. Its very pathos places it in a supremely higher level. Such specimen of feminine love where it is only all 'a give' combined with so much of devotion and faith is highly romantic.

The next sentence of the Dhātri reminds her of the ugly reality of her position. She could not understand it: that her beloved husband, who had been so very loving and who it was reported had been pining so much for her loss, should come so far away seeking a bride, and then should, without any compunction of feeling accept one that first came; well, it was unworthy of him, unworthy of him who loved her, of King Udayana her dear husband and lover. It all looked so

queer, so unimaginable, so absurd. Think as much as she may, still this her lover's action, she cannot account for. Her mind is rent with feelings of wounded pride, disappointed love. Where was his loyalty, she asked, his nobility, his dignity, his love? She concludes it must all have left him. Where were his vows, his deep protestations of love? What were they but empty nothings? It was all unlike Udayana as she had known him.

But yet she cannot believe it of him in her heart of hearts. Only she is at a loss to account for it. This and the fact of her unique position in that place curbs her tongue. She cannot give free vent to her feelings, and in the fulness of her heart she can but give expression to one short sentence, which is none the less significant for that;—'It is all so absurd.' It is highly and deeply suggestive.

All the same, such was her assumed position that, short and insignificant as was her utterance, it was risky enough. She has in this shown a complete want of good breeding and decorum. This was her patron's happiest moment. She had gained the idol of her heart and that quickly enough for her. It was a moment for sincere congratulations from one's circle of friends and instead of that she hears something inauspicious. She has not however any ears for this—she is steeped in ecstatic bliss and sweet dreams of love and happiness. But the maid of honour is quick enough to grasp the inauspicious nature of the remark. Of course it need not be especially remarked that the Hindus make much of these coincidences, and now too soon comes her remark, accompanied perhaps with a note of rebuke. Vāsavadatta soon realises her risky position and with all the shrewdness of her sex makes a most befitting reply—a reply which is the only instance of a disparaging statement reflecting upon the character of her lord. So much suffering for his wife's sake and then so much of indifference towards her; not even a show of decency and decorum! Indeed this is quite incompatible.

And has she not justification enough for this reflection? Sure enough she may be pardoned and the poet may be commended in that he has by this single touch made his heroine more realistic than the usual Hindu dramatist's ideal creations. Here is originality in his own way breaking away with the established custom and usage of making the Hindu woman a model of devotion and implicit obedience, severe yet sublime in its nature.

To the maid of honour the answer is satisfactory enough, and they take it in that light alone. To them and to those who do not understand the reality of Vāsavadatta's position, this is only an additional virtue on the part of the king. Great men, the truly great men, do generally control their feelings, and act as it becomes their regal position. Because the king has some private sorrow, he cannot avoid his kingly duties. According to the Hindu

code of royal obligations, a king cannot refuse when a girl is offered him. Bearing this in mind, the maid comments on Vāsavadatta's statement. Now this aspect was presented to her. She is glad to have at least one loop-hole of justification for her lord, and thus to ease her mind. She eagerly grasps it and hence asks her if he chose her himself. The reply is a cooling balm, and her painful aching finds some relief. The maiden was presented to him and, as a king, he cannot refuse her, and hence she concludes that her lover is blameless.

Yet the news is painful enough and her heart aches; she is sorry there is come another to share his love, though glad it is none of his seeking. With the entrance of the second maid she understands that the ceremony is to take place at once. She is sorry that such a thing has happened, unavoidable though it is, and hence she says, 'my heart is becoming blinder and blinder'.

Thus ends the second Act—a scene dramatic to the very core. There is here seen the hand of a master dramatist with his delicate sense of characterisation. He has in the two heroines perfect models of happy and suffering womanhood—women living and breathing. It is the more to his credit that he has so successfully delineated the two, side by side, and thus makes them set off each other. That he has kept Vāsavadatta within the due bounds of Indian traditionary devotion and respect is another point in our poet's favour. And it is all clothed in such simple homely language, none the less sweet for it, that it is more familiar and hence more appealing and touching. There is here the same thrill of open joy and subdued sorrow, yet neither the one nor the other betrays it in the least. Here it may also be noted that Vāsavadatta does not in the least evince any anger against her lord. She makes but one unfavourable comment. Had she poured out a series of wailings, she could be justified in doing it, but her blue blood maintains its dignity. Padmāvati also is similarly dignified. The high and rare restraint they put upon their feelings is truly becoming their position, and enhances Indian womanhood.

ACT III.

(THEN ENTER VASAVADATTA PENSIVE.)

Vāsavadatta.—The whole court is all a-bustle, mad with the joy of marriage. There have I left Padmāvati, and come here to this Pramada garden to console me in my misfortune. (Walking about) Alas, how unbelievable! Even he has become another's. Let me sit down. (Sitting down) Happy indeed is the wife of 'Chakravāka' for she lives not after the loss of her lover, but, ah me, I do not part with life. My unfortunate self lives on the fond thought of seeing my lord.

(ENTER A MAID CARRYING FLOWERS.)

Maid.—Where is she gone, the lady of Avanti? (Walking about and looking) Here, here she sits on the stony seat under the *Priyangu* creeper, plainly dressed but none the less handsome for that, and lost in thought like the moon shrouded in the mist. I shall approach her. (Approaching) Madam, how long have I been searching for you?

Vāsavadatta.—Why?

Maid.—Our Queen says: She is born of noble family, is affectionate, and clever. Let her make the marriage garland.

Vāsavadatta.—For whom is it?

Maid.—For our Princess.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) This too is to be done by me? Cruel, indeed, cruel is fate.

Maid.—No time now to think of anything else. The son-in-law is now bathing in Manibhūmi. Hasten, lady, with the garland.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) I cannot think of anything else. (Aloud) Dear, Did you see the son-in-law?

Maid.—O yes; love for our mistress and our own curiosity prompted us.

Vāsavadatta.—How is he?

Maid.—Lady, I shall say, never before has such a man been seen.

Vāsavadatta.—Say, dear, say, is he handsome?

Maid.—It can be said he is Cupid himself, only without bows and arrows.

Vāsavadatta.—That is enough.

Maid.—Why, enough?

Vāsavadatta.—It is improper to listen to the praise of another.

Maid.—Well, then, hasten, with your work.

Vāsavadatta.—Bring on. (To herself.) My unfortunate self must make it (Taking something out and looking at it.) What is this herb?

Maid.—To prevent widowhood.

Vāsavadatta.—(to herself.) This must be strung again and again for my sake as well as that of Padmāvati. (Aloud) What is this herb again?

Maid.—To subdue co-wives.

Vāsavadatta.—This need not be strung.

Maid.—And wherefore ?

Vāsavadatta.—His wife is dead and therefore useless.

(ENTER ANOTHER MAID.)

Maid.—Quick, Quick, my lady. Our son-in-law has in company with ' non-widows ' entered the Quadrangle.

Vāsavadatta.—Here, I say, take this.

Maid. —Good, I shall go then.

(EXEUNT BOTH.)

Vāsavadatta.—Here she goes. Cruel, indeed. Even he is become another's. Alas, on the bed shall I spend my grief, if I can get sleep.

(EXIT.)

The end of the third Act.

NOTES.

The events described in the last Act tell us that the first preliminary to the marriage of Padmāvati and King Udayana had already been made. For we have seen the maid hastening the ladies by the order of the Queen. In this scene, Vāsavadatta's soliloquy at the beginning shows that it is the day of marriage. And since the marriage was to take place on the very day of the announcement, we are justified in supposing that the events described in Acts II and III must have taken place on one and the same day.

Between the first and the second acts we must necessarily presuppose a moderate interval of time to enable Vāsavadatta to calm down and master her feelings and to accustom herself to the new environments. In this attempt she must have succeeded because Padmāvati and her maid have not in spite of their keenness of observation of ladies, any suspicion about Vāsavadatta. This would necessitate an interval between the first and the second acts sufficiently long to familiarise Vāsavadatta with her new life. And between the second and the third acts there can be an interval of only about two or three hours.

That there must have elapsed some definite interval between the incidents narrated in the first and the second acts is also clear from the fact that, at the close of the first act, we find the King steeped in the deepest depths of despair and sorrow on account of the loss of his wife. In the second act we find the King at the court of Darsaka. This would show that he must have got over the first paroxysms of sorrow, that he is able and free enough to move about as he pleases. To all outward appearance, he must have quieted down his grief. In the same act it is said that he is looking well. This also would

show that a definite interval must have passed between the two acts. But how long the interval must have been we cannot definitely say. Probably an interval of about a month will not be too much, or too little.

In the second act itself the King must have arrived at Rajagriha in the morning, and the marriage must have been settled towards noon. The maid must have followed Padmāvatī to the palace, and, when the first ceremony was over must again have come out to meet Vāsavadatta to get the marriage garland prepared. Vāsavadatta went to the Pramada garden. The statement of the maid that she had been searching for her a long time would show that this particular garden was remote.

Here it may relevantly be asked why Acts two and three are separated. Really enough they are 'run on' acts, and Act II really forms an introduction to the third act. That is to say they are but two parts, probably scenes I and scene II of one act. Now why should these be separated and elevated to the status of Acts, when there is neither change of time, nor place, nor person. We are inclined to think that the necessity of characterisation drove our dramatist to this separation and elevation. He made this that he might not degenerate the otherwise noble and excellent character of Vāsavadatta. This is a happy and unique contrivance, and a very original one. By change of acts i.e., by passing from one act to another, we are unconsciously made to think that there was the lapse of a definite period of time—a period long enough to enable Vāsavadatta to get over the first shock of this most unpleasant news. Unless Vāsavadatta is given some time to quiet down her troubled mind, her weaving the marriage garland with those incidental remarks would be quite unnatural. But really there is no time for it and so our dramatist adopts a new method very original, very satisfactory, very dramatic, as we are inclined to think,—the method of doubling time.

This Act opens with a soliloquy which is very important from the point of view of characterisation.

The character of the lady has been delineated as that of a typical Indian lady, an entirely obedient and loving creature who is ready to sacrifice her life even for the happiness of her husband. And here our author is engaged in the portrayal of types, and we are led to think that he has kept before him for his model the immortal creation of Vālmiki.

Our heroine is bewailing her cruel fate; but yet she finds consolation in the fact that she has been suffering all this for the sake of her dear husband, for his greater happiness and prosperity and greatness. It is this feeling that is the keynote of her character, a feeling that is so strong that she does not in the least indulge in the natural weakness of her sex, to wit, jealousy.

She is not jealous that there is now come another to share her husband's affection; and she is not afraid that her new rival will oust her from his affection.

In the case of any other lady, such an attitude was something abnormal, something unnatural. And it is to save himself from this charge that our poet has even at the very beginning made Vāsavadatta cherish for Padmāvati a feeling of kinship and affection, a feeling which grows with time. Hence no wonder that she does not cherish any ill-will against her. Here she is only sorry that she is suffering so much, but yet this is greatly alleviated by the knowledge that her lord who was in the throes of sorrow is now in a fair way to be relieved of his suffering. In conclusion, it may, without any reserve, be maintained that Vāsavadatta occupies the foremost rank among the poet's creations of suffering womanhood.

THE EVOLUTION OF RUDRA OR MAHESHA IN HINDUISM.

BABU DHANAPATI BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., B.L., PURI.

I.

THE advent of Mahesha or Iswara as a prominent figure or conception of divinity marks an epoch in ancient Hindu civilization. A new method of worship and a new mythology were inaugurated which developed into the Tantras and the Tantric system. Music, art, literature, yoga were all getting a new life and a new form. Henceforward every department seems to start with the name of Iswara and his consort. The goddess becomes markedly prominent in the shape of Durga and Kali. The old gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Aswins or Nasatyan were subordinated and gradually become mythological beings, shorn of their divine importance. The following changes in ideas may be marked as being the most important:—

1. *The old method of worship.*—The Fire-God is the *duta* or messenger. Offerings thrown to the fire are carried to different gods. The offerings *सुत* and particularly those of Soma are given generally to Indra, Vayu, Vrihaspati, Mitra, Varuna, the two Aswinis, etc.

The new method as subsequently developed is in

आवाहन, ध्यान, पांडुरोपचार, धारणा, न्यास and क्षमाप्रार्थना

2. The old Vedic language was modified and a new grammar was necessary. The modern Sanskrit grammar starts with the name of Mahesha or Shiva.

3. The mythology as disclosed in the Vedas is quite different from the new mythology of the Tantras and the new Puranas. This new mythology deals principally with Shiva, Durga, Kali, etc., and does not deal principally with the Vedic deities.

4. The great distinction between the sun cult and the moon cult seems to have been compromised and Mahesha stands as a symbol both of the sun and the moon cult. He carries the moon in his forehead. The sun and the moon form two out of his eight *murties* or original manifestations.

5. *The serpents as Ahi were the demons of old.*—But he now becomes the companion and slave of the new conception of divinity.

6. Goddesses become very prominent in the shapes of *Dasamaha Vidya*. All being different manifestations of *Sakti*.

7. Prayers or hymns to divinity consisted mostly in asking for worldly

boons and pardon as also for moral advancement. "Give us flocks; give us victory; give us riches; give us pardon and above all give us वरेण्यरावः the holy propriety" say the Vedic hymns. That is not discarded but another method was brought to prominence, viz., that of a calm and undisturbed contemplation of divinity and the merging of the smaller individual self into the higher ego. This method was not unknown during the Vedic age. But a new process for realization of this was inaugurated, that of bringing before the mind a picture of a *definite* material form and making the mind stick to that form ध्यान and श्रवणा.

8. To understand the full force of the above it will be necessary to refer to the shuktas of Medhatithi in Mandal I, S. 12 to 22. All the Gods are the "manifested". We perform Yajnas that is यज्ञयाग. We offer sacrifices to them through the fire. But these are no prayers to the one God. They are giving and receiving. We offer sacrifices to the Gods and the Gods give us boons and riches and pleasures. We exalt these Devas, these Gods and Goddesses, and universal happiness मधु is the result. This very idea we find in the Gita

देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तुवः ।

परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥

Cf. मधुमन्तं तनूतपाद् यज्ञदेवेषु नः कवे । आद्या कृणुहि वीतये ॥ Medhatithi

Cf. also मधुवाताक्रतायेते मधुक्षरन्ति सैन्धवः । etc.

But besides these Yajnas there is another supreme method that of *Yuja* or योग the basis of Yoga system. There is one God Vishnu who embraces this earth with its seven divisions and the whole of the universe or cosmos. He is Vishnu the Almighty "The Cosmic spirit" as translated by some scholars. He is not material: He is the friend of humanity, the friend of Indra: He is बुद्ध. Thrice does He manifest Himself in the relative sphere of existence. He preserves the whole material universe with its seven divisions that is the first पद or manifestation. He holds the धर्माणि or the laws—the second pada. He holds the third pada viz., righteousness 'व्रतानि'. But beyond these three manifestations there is another aspect परमं पदं the super-relative. The wise and the virtuous see this परमं पदं in the place of बुद्ध or योग. But how can they see or feel the super-relative and conceive of something which is not material? The sage Medhatithi gives an apt metaphor, extension आततं is not material; it is something abstract, but the eye perceives it at once by looking at the sky. So it is with Him,

तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरवः । दिवावचक्षुराततं

Every Brahmin has to start all prayers and worship by articulating this mantra. Cf. Rigveda Mandal I, S. 22; 16-21.

अतो देवा अवन्तुनो यतो विष्णुर्विचक्रमे । पृथिव्याः सप्तधामभिः ॥
 इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे वेधा निदधे पदं । समुद्रमस्य पानुरे ॥
 त्राणि पदा विचक्रमे विष्णुर्गोपा अदाभ्यः । अतो धर्माणि धारयन् ॥
 विष्णोः कर्माणि पश्यत यतो ब्रह्मानि परपदे । इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा ॥
 तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । दिवीवचक्षुराततम् ॥
 तद्विप्रासो जागृवांसः समिन्धते । विष्णोर्व्यत्परमं पदं ॥

"Pansure" evidently means material (dusty) sky, i.e., material manifestations cf. also Mandala 3, Sukta 55, Mantra 10,

विष्णुर्गोपाः परमं पदं पातिपाथः प्रिया धामान्यमृता दधानः ॥

It will be clear from the above that the conception of divinity as having a *fixed and complete* material form for ध्यान was altogether unknown during the age of Rigveda. Even in cases of the anthropomorphous Devas the conceptions are vague, poetic and partial as in cases of Maruta, Rudra, Saraswathi, etc.

II.

The Vedic Pantheon has been tabulated by various scholars and all the Gods have been enumerated and described. It will be out of place to repeat them here. It seems that one very important factor has not been taken into consideration ; Rig Veda is not a single treatise. It is a collection of Suktas made by different Rishis at different times holding divergent and sometimes conflicting views. Some have symbolized and theorized upon mythological matters. Others have vivified and amplified them. The arrangement of the Rig Veda is ascribed to Krishna styled Dwaipayana and also known as Veda Vyasa. It is not according to historical precedence. Two of the later Rishis *Madhuchandah* and *Medhatithi* have harmonised the various ideas in the older mantras and have built two different systems out of the same. They have been given precedence while the older Suktas are generally found in Mandal X. The main guide in translation and explanations is Sayana-charya :—But the annotations of Sayana though very valuable were made many hundreds of years after. The old ideas and stories had passed away, and had undergone complete transformations. Sayana is a कर्मकाण्डवादी and his annotations are in many places strained to meet sectarian dogmas. The genius and talent of the western scholars have brought out many truths. But they have to deal with ideas with which they are not all familiar. The preconceived notion has been that the Vedic mythology is much posterior to the other mythological systems. Whenever a common idea or story is found the conclusion has been that the Vedic mythology has borrowed. Many important truths can be found out from a proper study of comparative mythology, if these preconceived notions are set aside till a fuller examination of

the premises. We shall here deal with one aspect of Vedic mythology the "Rudra" god. Has the concept Shiva developed out of that of Rudra? To understand the concept of Rudra at the stage in which it is left in the Vedas it will be necessary to study the subject from the light of Babylonian mythology.

III.

Influence of Babylonian Mythology.

A. Protest and Dislike.

A. Rig Veda Mandal 10, S. 10 :—Yama Yami Sukta.

XXX. The mantras in the above Sukta are amongst the most beautiful hymns in the Rig Veda. The sister is wooing the brother with all the vehemence of passion and desire, while the brother is spurning them as immoral and opposed to the divine laws. But the significance of the Suktas becomes very obscure unless we look to some other quarter for fresh light. Some scholars have tried to explain it as a metaphor in which Yama stands for day, and Yami signifies night trying to take hold of day unsuccessfully. But this metaphor is certainly not borne out by the text. If we look to the story of Tammuz and Ishtar we find the woman Ishtar loving Tammuz with all the vehemence of sensuous desires and following him even after death and rescuing him. The story of Tammuz and Ishtar is itself influenced by Egyptian mythology. Tammuz and Ishtar according to the early version of the story were brother and sister, probably twins. Isis also seems to be the sister of Osiris according to one version of the story. This story of the love between Tammuz and Ishtar is one of the most important in old Babylon and the rescue of her lover from the clutches of death was greatly admired. The stern Aryan of India is shocked at the incestuous connection and repudiates it. This Sukta represents the old Aryan feeling and verdict on the story. There are traces of an ancient custom amongst the Tartars of marriage between twins: "Whom Heaven have joined let none part asunder". This Sukta forms the first stratum of contact when there is good deal of contempt and hate.

That this is the real significance of the above Sukta will be clear from the following mantras of Viswamitra :—Mandal 3, S. 39 (2-3-4).

दिवश्चिदापूर्वं जायमाना-विजायते विदये शस्यमानाः ।

भद्रा वस्त्राण्यर्जुना वसाना-सेयमस्मे सनजा पि०या थीः ॥

यमा चिदत्र यमसूरसूत जिह्वाया अग्रे पतदाहि-अस्थात् ।

वर्षं पि जाता मिथुना सचेते तमोहना तपुषो बुध्नयता ॥

नकिरोपां निन्दता मर्त्येषु ये अस्माकं पितरो गोपु योधाः ।

इन्द्र एषां इंहिता महिनावान् उद्गोत्राणि ससृजे वंसनावान् ॥

Puranas have taken *Gotra* to mean wings. But every Hindu belongs to a *Gotra* i.e., family clan or custom.

The Aryan intelligence (or civilization) is compared in its purity and precedence to a white lady wearing white robes. She comes from Heaven from time immemorial, always praised and always alert, and where in other countries the mother of the twins produces two creatures whose fraternal relationship was only a word of mouth and who joined their bodies as being born together; it is this Aryan civilization which like the light in the sky dispelled the (moral) darkness. It was Indra (says the Rishi) who disapproved of this scandalous abuse and fought with the nations and eradicated such immoral family organizations or clans (गोत्राणि). It is important to note that the elder god Cronos also married his sister Rhea in Classic mythology.

From this contempt of this incestuous custom we find Yama changed from an abstraction to a concept of a particular god. The Aryan Yama spurns the erotic advances of his sister. Tammuz had gone to the other world and Ishtar rescued him. But the Aryan Yama does not want Ishtar; he does not want to be rescued. He goes straight to the region of death and he rules there. He is the emblem of self-control and righteousness. He becomes the judge of the dead. These Aryan ideas again affected Babylonian mythology. Ishtar fell from her high position. In the story of Gilgamesh the later Babylonian hero spurns her advances and accuses her of the worst feelings. Ishtar failed to make her mark upon the old Aryans in India and she lost ground in her own land. As Ashtast or Ashtoreth she became the symbol for the grossest form of woman's love.

I shall quote one more instance to illustrate this first stage of contact, that of protest and moral indignation. According to the earlier versions of matriarchal systems the mother god is the more powerful. The later god viz., the son attacks her and kills her. That is the case in the early version of Tiawat and Merodach. I refer to the Sukta of Vamadeva (M. 4, S. 18).

अयं पन्था अनुवित्तः पुराणां यतो देवा उदजायन्त विद्वे ।

अतश्चिदाजनिषिष्ट पृथुद्धो मा मातरममुया पत्तवे कः ॥ etc., etc., etc.

परायतीं मातरमन्वच्छ ननानुगान्यनुनू गमानि ।

त्वष्टुर्गृहे अपिषत्सोममिन्द्रः शतधन्वं चम्बोः सुतस्य ॥ [?]

किं सक्थ्वक्कृणवद्यंसहस्रं जमार शरदश्चपूर्वीः । [?]

नहित्वस्य प्रतिमानमस्ति अन्तर्जतिषु उत्तमे ज्ञित्वाः ॥

अथर्षमिव मन्यमाना गुहाकुपरिन्दं माता वीर्येण त्युष्टं ।

अथोदस्थात्स्वयमत्कं वसानः अरोदसी अपृणात् जायमानः ॥

एता अपेन्त्यललाभवन्ताः ऋतावरीरिव संक्रोशमानाः ।

एताविषृच्छ किमिदं भणन्ति कमापः अग्निं परिधिरुजन्ति ॥

किमुध्विदस्मै निविदां भणन्त इन्द्रस्यावध्यं दिधिपन्त आपः ।
 ममैतान् पुत्रं महतावधेन वृत्रं जघन्वानसृजद्विसिन्धुन् ॥
 ममच्चनत्वा युवतिः परास ममच्चनत्वा कृपवा जगार ।
 ममत् चिदापः शिशवे ममृदुः ममत् चिदिन्द्रः सहस्रोदतिष्ठत् ॥
 ममत् चनाते मधवन्विअंसो निविविध्वान् अपहनूजधान ।
 अधानिविद्ध उत्तरोवभूवान् शिरोदासस्य संपिणगवधेन ॥
 गृष्टिः ससृज स्वविरं तवागान् अनाधृष्यं वृषभं तुभ्रमिन्द्र ।
 अरीहलं वत्सं चरथाथमाता स्वयंगतुं तन्ये इच्छमानं ॥
 उतमाता महिषमन्वेतत् अमां त्वा जहति पुत्र देवाः ।
 अधाम्रवादवृत्रमिन्द्रो हनिष्यन् सखे विष्णो वितरं विक्रमस्य ॥
 कस्ते मातरं विधवामचक्रत्शयुं कस्त्वामजिघांसत्चरन्तं ।
 कस्ते देवः अधिआसात् मादीक वत्प्राक्षिणाः पितरं पादगृह्य ॥ [?]
 अवर्त्याः शुनः अन्त्राणि पेने नद्वेषु विविदे मडितारं ।
 अपश्यं जायाममहायमानां अधामेद्वेनो मधुआजभार ॥

[पादगृह्यः—Whose feet should be touched, that is the Indian method of showing veneration ; it is accostive and is the adjective of Indra. प्राक्षिणाः stands for प्राक्षिणात् according to Vedic grammar. The use of Mardika is suggestive].

“This is the path (moral rule) settled from time immemorial and all the Devas have sprung out of it. From mother you are born and when grown up you should not approach her to kill. “This is the path of the beasts and highly immoral and let me be saved from such actions. Let me avoid this and escape sideways. I have got many enemies to deal with. Let me fight with them and deal with them.”

“Did Indra accost the dying mother ? Did he follow her or did he not (to death) ? Did he drink soma prepared in the house of Twastri in the midst of the two armies ?

“Did he really act like this ? he who has been living for thousands of years and has been always incomparable amongst all persons that have been born or that shall be born hereafter ?

“It was the mother who attacked Indra considering him to be contemptible and pressed him with her strength. But Indra rose high above from the well he was living in and enveloped the sky and earth while growing (higher and higher).

“Ask these waters—these waters moving and dancing and roaring like the busy morning : Ask them what do they say ? What mountain they are going to attack and break the sides ?

“O water Goddesses ! speak to us truly, for people are speaking ill of

Indra. Is it true? (The reply is) My son killed Vritra in a glorious fight and released the Sindhus (waters).

"It was pleasure for the young woman to attack thee (O Indra) and to swallow thee. It was pleasure for the waters (water nymphs) to be delighted with (thee as) the infant. It was pleasure for (Thee) Indra to rise up suddenly".

"It was pleasure for you O Indra! to strike the Dasa and to cut off his shoulders and cheeks and when being struck he died, you crushed the head of the Dasa (demon)".

"(The divine mother as) the cow gave birth at once to a grown-up, powerful and unconquerable bull—the Indra:—The mother left this calf, the conqueror of his enemies, to graze for himself (much to) his liking".

"The (divine) mother spoke to the Mahesha (demon) "See, my son yonder the Gods are forsaking you". Indra while going to slay Vritra (the demon) said "O God (Vishnu) my friend cross me the uncrossable: (Give me power to win the battle)."

"You venerable (Indra) who was it that made a widow of your mother lying prostrate? Who was it that tried to kill you while abroad? Who was this God Merodach (Mardika) near you who killed the father?"

Indra replies,

"These low people (or these people doomed to death) boiled the entrails of the dog and did not know the Mardita among the Gods. I saw the matron disgraced (not respected). Then it was that the bird brought Madhu (soma) for me."

This sukta refers to an obscure version of the Indra mythology. But one thing is clear. In the original Merodach story the mother goddess is the demon and Merodach kills her. This sukta protests against this act as being opposed to human nature and human morality. It refers to an early version of Merodach story. The later Babylonian story has whitewashed and concealed the objectionable portions.

N.B.—In classical mythology it is the divine father Cronos and not the mother who swallows the divine babes.

B. Modification and Adaptation.

We now come to what may be called the second stage in which the Babylonian mythology is being modified and adopted. The Aryans in India imbibe the practice of tracing out the physically impossible or the morally reprehensible by means of metaphors and symbols. A desire to create mysticism by such means can be traced in all religious teachings. We find Agni described as killing his mother. Savitri the Sun God running after his daughter (dawn). Indra killing the daughter of the sky (dawn) and so on.

Merodach is the wind god. Vayu or Vatu became an important god Mand. X, S. 148. Indra and Vayu are joined together and offerings are offered to them jointly.

इन्द्रवायू इमे सुता उपप्रथेभिरागतं । इन्द्रोवायुश्चान्ति हि ॥

There is a story that the gods went to Indra for an explanation of the Vedic sukta (Ajaya shastra) and Indra consented provided that Soma is offered to him along with Vayu in the same bowl (Sayana's introduction). In one of the suktas of Vasistha Vayu is described as a god with the moon as symbol आचन्द्रेण रथेन. But generally we find the wind gods split up into Maruts or wind god. "Who killed the serpent" asks the Rishi. "Is it Indra or the Maruts?"

The conclusion drawn is that Indra killed the serpent with the help of the Maruts. We need not deal here with the details of the Marut suktas. They are collected by Max Muller (*Vide* Max Muller's Maruts). Merodach is also Bel-Merodach and these Maruts are also described as Bilu.

वीलुचिदाकजत्नुभिः सुहा चिदिन्द्र वह्निभिः ।

In some of the Suktas we find these Maruts described as सूर्यत्वचः These Maruts were symbolized by the Rishis. (Cf. Madhuchanda Mandal 1 Sukta.) So that while we find that some of the Rishis symbolized these Maruts, others paint them in glowing colours describing them as joyous horsemen, merry and talkative but terrible and furious in battle. They form Indra's cavalry. In the symbolized form Indra is God and Maruts are his angels. So Indra is मरुत्वान् or अंगिरस्वान्. They are carriers or messengers "वह्निभिः" of the divine knowledge. They emanate from divinity as the rays of sun from the solar disk: but they are also terrible to attack sin and Madhuchhanda takes great pains to explain this double aspect.

युजन्ति ब्रह्मरुपं चरन्तं परितस्थुपः । रोचन्ते रोचना दिवि ॥

युजन्त्यस्य काम्या हरी विषक्षसा रथे । शोणा वृष्णू नृवाहसा ॥

केतुं कृण्वन् अकेतवे पेशो मर्या अपेशसे । समुपदमिरजायथाः ॥

आतअहस्वधामनु पुनर्गभत्वमेगिरे । दधानानाम वक्ष्यं ॥

वीलुचिदाकजत्नुभिर्गुहा चिदिन्द्र वह्निभिः । अविन्द उलिया अनु ॥

देवयत्तो यथामतिमच्छा विदद्वसुं गिरः । महान् अनूपत श्रुतम् ॥

इन्द्रेणसंहिदृक्षसे संजग्मानो अविभ्युपा । मन्दूसमानवर्चसा ॥

अनवध्वै रभिश्चुभिः मखः सहस्वदर्वति । गणैरिन्द्रस्य काम्यैः ॥

अतः परिज्मन्नागहि दिवोवा परोचनादधि । समस्मिन् कम्पतेगिरः ॥

इतो वा मातिमामहे दिवोवा पार्थिवादधि । इन्द्रं महो वा रजसः ॥

The Rishi points to the sky when the red dawn is brilliant and going to vanish. Look they are tying the red horses that are straying about and roving. The light is adorning the sky.

(The red light has vanished) : they have tied the beautiful team of red, trained horses with beautiful wings to the car : (they are no more scattered and roving about).

[विपक्ष्मा=winglets or विचित्रपक्ष्मा with beautiful wings].

(So it is with the Maruts). They spread knowledge where there is no knowledge viz., light where there is darkness : where there is no form they give form : they are born with the dawn i.e., the first ray of knowledge. They are human.

And then they are again born i.e., manifested in a different way but closely allied to their original nature : then they get the name of Devas. (Yajniya) Indra is perceived like this with the Maruts in their double aspect light and knowledge where it is space (empty), and terrible forces where there is resistance (hardness). Like the sun with his rays.

As these Maruts light up the mind with knowledge so words have praised them in great hymns (prayers).

You are seen simultaneously with Indra, you are known simultaneously with the fearless, and resplendent with the same light of gladness.

It is with those pure and brilliant beings, the favourites of Indra that Yajna (prayer) becomes powerful and offers worship.

Therefore come ye together from the sky above or from the brilliant light near it. These words in the Yajna are going to you.

We understand the difference between you and Indra as the earth is different from the sky or as the material (dusty) sky is different from the (higher) ethereal sky.

If we take Indra to mean God and the Maruts as meaning angels this will be in accordance with Christian, Hebrew and Mahomedan ideas of God and the Angels but all the Rishis have not accepted these symbolized and abstract beings. I shall quote only one more instance, the following Sukta of Hiran-yastupa :—M. 1, S. 32.

इन्द्रस्य नु वीर्याणि प्रवाचं यानिचकारप्रथमानिवज्रा ।

अहन्अहिमन्वपस्ततर्द प्रवक्षणा अभिनत्पर्वतानां ॥

अहन्नहिपर्वते शिश्रियाणं त्वष्टारमं वज्रं स्वयं ततक्ष ।

वाश्राइवधेनवः स्यन्दमानाः अजः समुद्रमवजग्मुरापः ॥

वृषायमाणो अवृणात सोमं त्रिकटुकेषु अपिवत् सुतस्य ।

आस्तायकं मधवादत्तवज्रं अहन्नेतां प्रथमजामर्हानां ॥

यदिन्द्राहन्प्रथमजामर्हानां आत्मायिनां प्रमिनाः प्रोतमायाः ।

आत्सूर्यननयन्धामुषासं तार्दालाशब्धं न किलाविवित्मे ॥

अहन् अहिं वृत्रतरं व्यसं इन्द्रोवज्रेण महता वधेन ।

स्कन्धांसिव कुलिशेना विवृक्षणा अहिःशयत उपपृक्पृथिव्याः ॥

अयोद्धा इव दुर्मदः अहिर्बुध्नं महावारं तुविवाधमृजापं ।
 नातारी दस्युः सभृति वधानां संरुजानाः पिपिप इन्द्रशत्रुः ॥
 अपादहस्तो अपृतन्यदिन्दं आ अस्यवज्रं अधिस्तानौ वधान ।
 वृष्णो वधिः प्रतिमानं सुभूपन् पुरुषावृत्रा अश्वदव्यस्तः
 नदंतभिन्नं अमुयाश्वानं मनोरुहाणामतियन्ति आपः ।
 याश्चिदवृत्रो महिना पर्यतिष्ठत् तासामहिः पत्सुतः शीर्वभूव ॥
 अतिष्ठतीनामनिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितंशरीरं ।
 वृत्रस्य निरायं विचरन्ति आपो दीर्घं तमः आ अश्वद् इन्द्रशत्रुः ॥

This vivid description bears a strong resemblance to the Hebrew mythology of God hurling His thunderbolt on Satan (serpent) and his followers described in this Sukta as sons. The same story we find developed in different ways.

1. Classic mythology.
2. Vedic mythology.
3. Hebrew mythology.
4. Babylonian mythology.

It is difficult to ascertain what was the original version. In mythology we find that the story comes first and then it is symbolized to denote some natural phenomena or some esoteric or moral doctrine. But sometimes we find the process reversed. An original story is mixed up and debased with local and traditional conditions. Sometimes a story shakes off the grosser and traditional conditions and becomes general. It is stated that tribal wars are the originators of these stories. But tribal wars do not explain the common portions. The common element seems to be that of sinful pride challenging divinity "piling mountains upon mountains" to reach the divine height according to classic mythology. Then the thunderbolt comes hurling the power "down down to bottomless perdition" दीर्घं तमः अश्वदिन्द्रशत्रुः "to eternal darkness prostrated". The very powers whom he had subdued or opposed are pressing him down, passing merrily high above him.

IV. Rudra Suktas.

We have examined the close resemblance between Merodach and Matarishwa: The meaning of the word in present Sanskrit will be "one who has acted like a dog towards his mother." But mutual contact and adaptation popularized the Wind God, when Merodach became Maruts, the good Danus सुदानवः Vritra is a Danu, cf. M. 2, S. 11 (18).

During the time of the later Rishis, Maruts were being symbolized by some of them. We find also the creation legend of Babylon (*viz.*, Merodach building the universe from the dead body of Tiawat) adapted and symbolized in the famous पुरुषसूक्त. These Maruts were described by various Rishis as

being Rudras (वरुवर्षसः). (रुद्रासः Rudras) cf. M. 2, S. 34; cf. Medhatithi, etc. They are strong and stalwart, fierce in war but merry and joyous at other times.

“इन्द्रज्येष्ठा मरुदगणाः” occurs in many Suktas. Indra was their head or chief. But later on we find the description of Rudra as being the father of the Maruts.

Rudra is described by some scholars as the “howling God.” The translation is singularly inapt to describe the character of Rudra.

Cf. Mandal 2, S. 33.

अतो पितरुतां सुन्नमेतु मानः सूर्यस्य सदृशं युवाथा ।
अभिनां वीरो अर्वातिक्षमेत प्रजायमहि रुद्रप्रजाभिः ॥
त्वादत्तेभी रुद्र शन्तमेभिः शतं हिमाः अशायभेपजेभिः ।
वि अस्मद्वेपः वितरं विअंहः विअमीवाः चातयस्वा विधूनाः ॥
श्रेष्ठाजातस्य रुद्र श्रियासि तवस्तमः तवसां वज्रवाहो ।
पधिणः पारमंहसः स्वस्ति विद्वा अभीतो रपसो युयेधि ॥
मात्वारुद्र चक्रुधामा नमोभि मां दुष्टुती मा सहति ।
उन्नोवीरान् अपय भेपजेभिः भिषकृतमं त्वां भिषजां शृणोमि ॥

* * *

उन्मा ममन्द वृषभो मरुत्वान् त्वक्षीयसा वयसा नाधमानम् ।
धृणाव छायामरपा अशीया विवासेयं रुद्रस्यसुन्नं ॥
कस्यतेरुद्र मृलयाकुर्हस्तो यो अस्ति भेपजो जलाषः ।
अपभर्ता रपसो दैव्यस्या मनु मा वृषभचक्षुमोथाः ॥
स्थिरेभिरंगैः पुरुरूप उग्रो वज्रः शुक्रेभिः पिपिशे हिरण्यः ।
ईशानादस्य भुवनस्यभूरः न वा उधोषदरुद्रादसूर्यं ॥
अर्हन्विर्भाषि सायकानि धत्वा अर्हन् निष्कं यजतं विश्वरूपं ।
अर्हन्निदं दयसं विश्वमम्भं तवा ओजायो रुद्र त्वदस्ति ॥
स्तुहि श्रुतं गत्तंसदं युवानं मृगं न भीममुपहन्तुमुग्रं ।
मृला जरित्रे रुद्रस्तवानो अन्यं तं अरिमन् निवपन्तुसेनाः ॥

Cf. also Sukta of Ghora Mandal 1, S. 43.

Rudra is styled मृल or मृलयाकु (हस्त). The name Mrida seems to be allied to Merodach. Mrida is now the name of the God Mahesha or Shiva. This description is of Rudra, the father of Maruts by Girtsamada. Rudra is certainly not the “howling God”.

A leader or a warrior is always described as Vrisha or Vrishava in Rig-veda. Indra is Vrishava. Agni is also Vrishava, the leader of the herd or army. Rudra is the young God, the leader of cavalry. Brilliant with white light, beautiful and strong. He is the God of medicines and of the science of medication. He teaches the art of horse and horse-training.

Furious as the young lion and terrible as he is, Rudra is all gladness and peace to his admirers and brings joy, blessing and comfort to them. He is described as the *Arhat* and as *Ishana*. The word *Ishana* has a general meaning in the Vedas: cf. तर्माशानं जगतस्तस्थुषरपति धियं जिन्वमवसेदूमहेवयं in the description of Pushan. Long after we find the word *Arhat* meaning "venerable" used as a synonym for *Buddha*.

It seems that Rudra represented all that the Aryans admired and got from a neighbouring nation—the science of healing, of rearing children, and of horse-training. Probably they got horses from Babylon or Persia. Rudra is clearly the young hero beautiful to look at, joyous to his friends, furious to his enemies and an expert in horsemanship. This bears a strong resemblance to the British squire as represented in the novels of the 18th century. But there is one addition, viz., Rudra is the physician. He seems to have superseded the Aswins to some extent in the matter of horse and medicine. His medicines are described as शन्तम् carrying peace and comfort. शङ्कर has become a common name for Shiva. Rudra is also styled >यम्बक the characteristic name for Shiva.

Cf. M. 7, S. 59 (12) by Vasistha

>यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।

उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनात् मृत्योर्मुक्षीम मामृतात् ॥

But though the similarity or unity of names is a great index so far as the character is concerned, the description of Gritsamada quoted above hardly tallies with the later conception of Shiva. This hardly fits in with the descriptions, out of later concepts, given below:—

अथाजिनाषाढधरः प्रगल्भबागुज्वलन्निव ब्रह्ममयेन तेजसा ।

विवेश कश्चिदजदिलस्तपोवनं शरीरवदः प्रथमाभ्रमो यथा ॥ १ ॥

Kumar : Canto V. Cf. also Canto III.

महोक्षः खट्वाङ्गम् परशुरजिनं भरम फणिनः कपालं चेतयित्तुव वरद तन्त्रोपकरण ।

सुरास्तां तामृदि दधति भवदभ्रूप्रणिहितां नहिस्वात्मारामं विषयमृगतृष्णाभ्रमयति ॥ २ ॥

Mahimna Stotra.

Many centuries must have elapsed before such a complete change is possible. The dignity of self-renunciation, of pleasure in divine contemplation (Atmarama) and the superiority of the pleasures of self-control over the pleasures of enjoyment—these are ideas at present engrafted in Hinduism, and it may be that the development of these ideas brought in the development of *Rudra* into the concept of Mahesha.

A closer examination of the texts, however, refutes such a theory or at any rate throws a grave doubt over it. It seems that later on Rudra and Rudras were being symbolized. The Rudras were symbolized into eleven.

The chief is the ego, the Jivatma and the ten others are the ten vital forces as under

five Pranas प्राण, समान, अपान, उदान, व्यान.

five others नाग, कुर्म, कृकल, देवदत्त, धनञ्जय.

Cf. Satapatha Brahmana 14 (5).

कतमे रुद्रा इति । दशमे पुरुषे प्राणाः आत्माः कादशस्तं यदा ।

अस्माद्शरीरात् उत्क्रामन्ति अथोदयन्ति तद् यदरोदयन्ति तस्माद् रुद्रा इति ॥

In later ages we find that the Purans take up Rudras at the point at which they are symbolized in the Vedas. Rudra is the Jivatma or the soul presiding over the Rudras or vital forces. As soon as he is born he cries out because he is born as a babe. When he goes away from the body Rudra makes other persons cry. He becomes a leader of ghosts and goblins and is subsequently merged into the higher conception of Shiva. Cf. Garuda Purana, 6th Adhyaya, Matsya Purana, 5th Adhyaya, Kurma Purana 10th.

जातमात्रः कुमारोसौ रुद्रो भगवान् भवः ।

मत्तोवाच कथं पुत्रोदीर्षिष्ये त्वं महोबल ॥

Vide Padma Purana, Rudra Sarga, 8th chapter. Cf. also Vishnu Purana, 1st part, chapter VIII. Vide also Rudra Gita in Varaha Purana.

From these texts it will be clear that the Vedic character of Rudra was symbolized out of existence and the subsequent developments were not very cheerful when Rudra was completely assimilated in the character of Shiva.

V. Female Goddesses.

In mythology it is generally found that the moon cult represents the matriarchal system while the sun cult represents the patriarchal system: mutual contact and mutual dealings have caused the two systems to be mixed up. The Aryans were a nation of the sun cult but during the age of the Vedic Sutras we find that the lunar race had already established themselves. The first lunar king is prominent as having given importance to Fire worship.

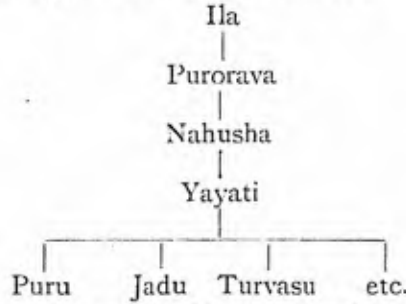
त्वामग्रे प्रथममायुमायवे देवा अकृण्वन् नहुषस्य विश्पति ।

इलामकृण्वन् मनुष्यस्य शासनां पितुर्यन् पुत्रो ममकस्यजायते ॥

Mandal 1, Sukta

The story goes that Ila was the daughter of Manu who first ordained the law of marriage. Whether Ila was only metaphorically mentioned as the daughter of Manu and was simply the law of Manu personified it is difficult to say. If she is only a metaphor, then some king of the lunar cult accepted the laws of Manu and settled in India. That started the lunar race. But if she was really the daughter of Manu and a queen who married a prince of the

lunar race, then we can understand the eagerness of the later Purans to explain this female predominance. They say that Ila was really the son of Manu and Divine curse transformed him to a woman during certain seasons. As a woman, Budha, son of the moon, married the transformed prince and Purorava was the son. Ayu is the son of Purorava.



These Yadus, Turvasus are specifically mentioned in the Rigveda. The Gadhis also belonged to the lunar race. Amongst the Aryans of the solar cult we find that women were treated with great respect and consideration. In the Yajnas they used to sit well dressed (and no Yajna was complete without their presence). Cf. "नृपक्षारच्छिन्नपत्राः सचन्तां" Medhatithi. While the sturdy Aryans were engaged in the toilsome Udukhala threshing the corn, we find the Aryan dames sitting hard by and engaged in winnowing the chaff and grain. Cf. Shunahshepa.—

यत्र नारी अपच्यवं उपच्यवं च शिक्षते ।

उदूखलसुतानामवेदविन्द्रजल्लुलः ॥

But the woman occupied the subordinate position. The old female Goddess was Sarsawati, the personified genius of Aryan culture. Sometimes she is identified with the river Saraswati. The older Tantras described the Goddess Kali as Nila Saraswati or the blue Saraswati.

सरस्वती त्वमस्मान् अविर्द्धि मरुत्वती धृयती जेषि शत्रून् ।

त्यंचित्शङ्कन्तं तविषीयमाणं इन्द्रो हन्ति वृषभं शणिकानाम् ॥

M. 2, S. 30 (8).

Ila, Saraswati and Mahila Bharati are generally described together as similar concepts.

सरस्वती साधयन्ती धियन्न इलादेवी भारती विश्वमूर्तिः ।

तिस्त्रेदेवीः स्वधयावहिरेदम् अच्छिद्रं पान्तु शरणं निषद्ध ॥

M. 2, S. 3.

Indra, Varuna, Agni, Vayu were all getting their consorts named but they never gained any significance. We also find Saraswati described as Vadra and Amba. But the advance of the lunar race and other local conditions were bringing in new Goddesses like *Raka* and *Sinibali*.

धारते राके सुमतयः सुपेशसो याभिर्ददासि दाशुपं वसूनि ।

ताभिर्नो अथ सुमना उपागहि सहस्रपोषं सुभगे रराणा ॥

सिर्नावालि पृथुष्टुके देवानामसि स्वसा ।

जुपस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिर्दितनः ॥

M. 2, S. 32 (5) and (6) of Gṛtsamada.

Raka and Sinibali closely resemble the names of the classic Goddesses Rhea and Cybele. But Sinibali is described as the sister Goddess and not the mother Goddess. It is significant that the classic Goddess is the sister of the elder God Cronos. She is also his wife. But these Goddesses never got any prominence and the Indian Aryans always felt a contempt for the nations in whom the females predominated. Cf. the following sukta of Bavru. Mandal 5, S. 30 (9).

Cf. M. 5, S. 30 (9), Bavru

स्त्रियो हि दासः आयुधानि चक्रे किं माकरन्नवला अस्यसेनाः ।

अन्तर्हि अरव्यत् उभे अस्य धेने अथोप प्रैत्युदये दस्युमिन्द्रः ॥

In Kenopanishad we find a description of *Uma* "उमां हैमवतीं". The Gods wonder at the new Goddess and Her prowess. Fire approaches her. She gives him a straw, he cannot burn it. Wind God approaches her, she gives him the straw. He cannot break it. At last Indra goes to her when she vanishes. This story was greatly developed before this *Uma* and the Gods were described in *chandi* of Markanda Purana. It is clear that a long time must have elapsed between the Sukta of Bavru and Kenopanishad, when the Goddess has become brilliantly prominent. We must search elsewhere for the cause of this total change of ideas.

VI.

We have seen that patriarchal and matriarchal systems seem originally to have been well demarcated. But mutual dealings create an interchange of ideas and the ideas seem to be mixed up creating difficulties in analysis. But patriarchal or matriarchal, every nation must have been impressed with the woman as a nurse in the sick bed struggling with death to save the beloved one :—

"O woman in our hours of ease

Uncertain, coy and hard to please

Yet when pain and anguish wring the brow

A ministering Angel thou."

Different mythologies have developed this idea in different ways and no interchange can be inferred from this fact alone. Cf. 1. Tammuz and Ishtar rescuing Tammuz from death. Babylonian mythology.

2. Demeter and Persephone. Mother saving the daughter. Classic mythology.

3. Isis wailing over the dead body of Osiris and ultimately bringing him back to life. Egyptian mythology.

4. Savitri rescuing her husband Satyavan from Yama. Indian mythology.

5. Behula rescuing her husband Lakhinder. Bengal mythology.

The last story, *viz.*, that of Behula clasping the dead body of her husband putrified and swollen and floating in the water, refusing to recognize the death of her lord till the Gods take pity on her, is notable for its artistic intensity. But there can be no inference about borrowing or interchange merely from this similarity. The story of Savitri in its classical and self-contained art has profoundly impressed Hinduism and one day, *viz.*, the Krishna chaturdasi of the month of Jaistha, has been kept apart in honor of her doings. When however, any minor incident not material to the story is repeated in both versions, we have to ponder and examine fully the premises to find out any interchange or contact. As an example we may cite the case of a child thrown into the fire and then Isis miraculously rescuing the child burnt to death and bringing it back to life. Demeter performs a similar operation in classic mythology. It may be noted that we find this story in कथामञ्जरी and बेतालपंचविशति as showing the power of mantras. Woman's love in the sick bed is the common asset of humanity. Even coincidences in minor details though very suggestive do not necessarily imply any contact of two ideas. The subject is beset with considerable difficulty. We must shake ourselves from all preconceived notions and proceed cautiously before we come to any conclusion or theory. The first spirit we have seen is one of antagonism in all cases of mutual contact of two mythologies. Gradually we find assimilation and mutual adaptation going on. Hindu mythology goes further. The story is symbolized to express some natural phenomena or some philosophical or moral precept. A desire to create mysticism by representing Divinity with the physically impossible or the morally inconsistent, with an addition of the grotesque and even of the indecent is the keynote to the study of the later Pauranic mythology. Human mind wants to peep into the Eternal and to know Him: "kah," "kasmai"—these are synonyms for God in the Vedas. But while desirous to know Him man is fain to believe that He is something Superhuman or non-human. Something which is apparently impossible or objectionable at first sight. This tendency of the Hindu mind to create mysticism in all ways and then to symbolize it is not so marked in other systems and consequently the spirit and force of the Hindu mythology is not fully understood. The mysteries of re-incarnation, of sacrifice, of unity in Trinity and of resurrection, etc., occur in Christianity and also in Islamism. This desire of the human mind explains the march of Buddhism from Hina-

yana to Mahayana. Man requires some mysticism as much as an understanding in an incomplete way of the Higher self. Even in the present day, the Hindu learns the explanation of the mysticism, the symbolization, from his spiritual father, the Guru. He has to keep it secret from the un-initiated. To scholars trained in classic art and mythology these matters present unusual difficulty. Classic mythology has been busy in humanizing the gods in form and expression. Beauty of form and beauty of expression with all that is noble and grand from the artistic side, are the main keynotes to classic mythology. The first spirit of antagonism having passed, the Indian Aryans adapted and assimilated exotic matters and symbolized the objectionable portions veiling them in grotesque mystery. Vedic literature of later days is busy in symbolizing all concepts indigenous or exotic.

On the other hand, a good deal of caution should be adopted before we accept a new idea or concept to be foreign and derived from external sources. New ideas evolved internally produce the same spirit of antagonism with subsequent assimilation and symbolization. Panchasikha and Āsuri, the two followers of Kapila were synonyms for atheism in old Sanskrit literature. But their categories as the Sankhya system, form the basis of Hinduism and Hindu philosophy. In later days we find Buddha and his doctrines strongly attacked. Subsequently we find Buddha raised to be the ninth incarnation of God (Vishnu). This is strangely illustrated in the story of Prometheus in classic mythology. The use of fire for profane and secular purposes and the growth of industries greatly diminished its divine prestige. It seems that Prometheus was the first in classic mythology to decry against its divine nature. To quote the mythological language, he brought fire from heaven to earth and he was doomed to eternal punishment. We may put a historic fact into mythological language. "Galileo made the earth move and the Gods doomed him to punishment."

VII.

The prime concepts of Shiva are those of a god sitting in divine contemplation, sitting calmly with suspended breath, like a mountain of dazzling silver with the crescent on his forehead. The conception of the Himalayan peaks dazzling with reflected rays with the crescent of the moon above might have given rise to this idea of divinity. We have found in Vedic mythology that Indra fought with the mountains (or mountain tribes). He also released the waters clogged by the mountains. The Puranas have developed the metaphor which compared the pools of clogged water to the wings. The clogging of water by boulders choking the flow of streams is illustrated by the Indus floods. If we take this to be the correct theory, we can understand the location of the Higher Ganges (मन्दाकिनी or गंगा) on the head of Mahesha as

described in the Puranas. These mountaineers most probably would be a hunting nation and better skilled in rearing and breeding cattle. The qualities of His followers were transferred to the God and we find Mahesha as a hunter clad in the skin of panther or elephant; also as Pashupati, the lord of beasts. He is also भूतनाथ, the followers being contemptuously treated in the first stage as ghosts and goblins. The original instrument given to the God was the battle axe, Parashu and not the later trident. We have seen from the Vedic Shūktas that these mountaineers were a matriarchal nation. After the first stage of antagonism, the process of assimilation evolved this new concept of divinity with the goddess playing a very important part. The Puranas have all located the God Mahesha in the Himalayan regions in Kailasa, the highest peak. Cf. the *dhyān* of Mahesha which every Hindu has to repeat while worshipping the God.

ध्यायेन्नित्यं महेशं रजतगिरिनिभं चारुचन्द्रावतंसं ।

रत्नाकल्पोज्ज्वलाङ्गं परशुमुखावराभीति हस्तं प्रसन्नं ॥

पद्मासीनं समन्तात् स्तुतममरगणैर्व्याघ्रकृत्स्नवसानं ।

विश्वायं विश्ववीजं निखिलभयहरं पञ्चवक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रं ॥

Under this view, we find that the Rudra concept of the Vedas is assimilated to the original mountain concept and we find that the God is ऽयम्बक or त्रिनेत्र like the Rudra God. Five faces stand as symbols for five branches of learning which start with the name of Shiva viz., धनुर्विद्या or the art of warfare, गन्धर्वविद्या or the art of music हठयोग or the tantric system of Yoga आयुर्वेद or medical science and पशुविद्या. Sankhya and Yoga philosophies developed this prime concept. He was the Purusha of Sankhya philosophy while Prakriti his consort was the active principle. The Puranas also describe him as the warrior or warriors, terrible in fight, calm in contemplation, beaming and smiling with beatitude—the eternal bliss within. One great poet describes him as निवातनिष्कम्पमिव प्रदीपं.

The terrorizing aspect of the God, described as the god of destruction along with Shiva's dance, was derived from the assimilation of the symbolized concept of Maruts described above and also of Rudra. In a notable metaphor in one of the Upanishads we find the categories of Sankhya explained. Under this view also we can understand the description of "Uma" as representing Prakriti the goddess prominent in Kenopanishad "Umam Haimābatim". Haimābatim may mean golden or the daughter of Himāvat, a name for the Himalayas. The Puranas describe Uma as the daughter of Himalaya the Mountain King and Siva got her as his consort after the death of Sati. The objectionable portions in the traditions of the mountaineers were assimilated to illustrate the mystic nature of divinity—the

incomprehensible in the physical, the intellectual and the moral planes. It will be beyond the scope of this article to study the subject in all details. We shall deal however with salient points. On a study of the Puranas we find that Shivaism and Vaishnavism were rival cults, each borrowing and assimilating from the other. One Purana tries to bring down Shivaism and gives importance to Vishnu: while another acts in the opposite direction. It is a quarrel between two rival and indigenous sects—much like the quarrel between Protestants and Roman Catholics. There is generally an attempt at conciliation. Harihara is the joint name for the two concepts. When Megasthenes came to India he found the two concepts formally established. The panther skin worn by Mahesha made him identify the God with Bacchus. The mystic ceremonies of the Tantras may be naturally associated with Bacchanalian rites. We have found that in the original concept of Shiva or Mahesha the following factors are prominent:—

1. Failure to participate in the distribution of amrita.
2. Serpent in the body.
3. Moon cult and Sun cult combined.
4. Importance of the goddess.
5. New learning and arts.

If we accept the view of indigenous growth, we must assume that the Rudra concept merged into Mahesha at the very outset, otherwise we cannot explain the terrorizing aspect. Now Rudra, however symbolized, is a Vedic deity entitled to Soma which is identified with Indu and Amrita. No Purana will dare detract a Vedic God directly. It is of course not impossible that the Shiva concept as above came first when the Vedic Pantheon was closed. And as Mahesha rose to prominence he had to be identified with the Vedic God. It will be important to note that Apollo as Hyperion came late when the Gods were making territorial distributions and so he was deprived of his share. Apollo seems to be the classical form of Mahesha. He is the father of medical science and the Pashupati of classic mythology and also a great warrior. But the Yogi element is altogether absent and while Mahesha stands as the symbol of self-renunciation and self-control Apollo is a human being subject to all its passions and failings even in its worst forms.

2. The serpent in the body is also very hard to explain. It may be that Vritra was described as a serpent in the Vedas and the God of the mountaineers will get Vritra as his follower. But this supposes that the Puranas wanted to attack the Vedic ideas directly which is against the creed of the said Puranas.

3. A new energy given to all branches of learning is also very hard to be understood in the light of this theory.

We shall now study the subject in a new light, *viz.*, that of Egyptian mythology.

Egyptian Mythology.

As we have stated before, it is mutual adjustment—action and reaction—that gives us a sure index to the fact that two systems of mythology had been in direct or indirect contact. Egypt appears to us in its original form as belonging to the moon cult or matriarchal system. But it absorbed the Sun God or the Ra God at a very early stage of its civilization. The first advent of the Ra God can be clearly traced in Egyptian mythology. Ra God come to Egypt as the ruler or the king, but the subjects are displeased with him. A serpent bites him; what was it that was burning his flesh and tormenting his body? He could not understand it; meanwhile the serpent-bite was troubling him more and more. Isis the enchantress comes to him. She will cure him by a spell or incantation but his secret name must be given out first. The name is surrendered and Isis cures him by spells. The Ra God or the Sun God punishes the rebels with the help of another Goddess *Sekhet* and subsequently leaves Egypt being dissatisfied with its ingratitude. This is the first stratum of the story. It seems that the Sun God returned to his own land. But poison torments him no further. He is proof against all poison now. He voluntarily drinks the poison and keeps the poison confined in his throat and so Mahesha was styled Nilakantha as the poison only blackened his throat. He is no longer afraid of serpents; on the other hand the serpent is his constant companion and he keeps him entangled in his body. But that is not all. He brings with him his great ally the Goddess *Sekhet* which becomes *Shakti* in India, the general name for all mother-goddesses. *Shakti* is now his consort. The first manifestation of *Shakti* or *Sekht* is *Âdyasakti* or *Shyama*, the renowned mother-goddess of India. This Sun God having come from the moon land carries the crescent on his forehead. The action and reaction seem to be complete. A contact with a new civilization will naturally bring in new ideas and a great impetus will be given to intellectual development. But the most notable thing was the introduction of a new system of spells and incantations and the introduction of novel *Bijamantras*. The mother-goddess and mother-goddesses were becoming prominent. This is in itself very suggestive: if however we examine the story of Isis and her consort Osiris the contact creating adjustments is almost conclusive. Isis is the sister of Osiris and sometimes also described as his mother. We have found a strong antipathy of the Vedic Aryans against such stories. But when Ra God returned to India a love for symbolism and mysticism had been generated. So in the older Tantras we find a mystic symbolism of the mother-

goddess being self-born and creating Shiva. Osiris is killed by his brother and Isis laments over him. She recovers the dead body and madly embraces the corpse. The body is cut to pieces and thrown into several places. In Egypt we find shrines erected in different places where different portions of the body were found. In the story of Osiris and Isis we find the matriarchal system where Isis is the predominant figure. Osiris and Isis in Egypt have a close resemblance to Iswara and Isha, Mahesha and the Goddess in India. In the matriarchal system, we find the male God dying and the Goddess lamenting over his dead body and carrying the dead body to be hugged in secret. In the patriarchal system in India we find a close parallel : the only difference is that the Goddess (Sati, the first consort of Mahesha) dies and Mahesha is found mad with grief and carrying the dead body of his wife from place to place in a fit of madness. Here also the dead body is cut to pieces and scattered all over India. The various places where the different portions of the body are thrown are the fifty-two Pithas and have got temples for Shiva and Kali even up to day. At the time there was this contact between two civilizations producing the present interchange of ideas, we find that the Egyptians had not got the idea of the पुनर्जन्म theory, viz., that of the transmigration of souls. In Egypt it is necessary to collect together the various pieces of the dead body and to stitch them up before the Gods give back life to it. When brought back to life, Osiris has got a great resemblance to an Egyptian mummy. In India, however, Sati leaving her body as daughter of Daksha, is again reborn as the daughter of Himalaya the king of the mountains. She is then styled *Uma* the daughter of the mountain king. From this contact with Indian civilization we find the Egyptians having assimilated the doctrine of Punarjanma or transmigration to some extent. Later on we find the lover of a pretty damsel killed. He is reborn as her son and discloses himself when grown up as the previous lover killed. In India we find for the first time that the dead body is nursed up and carried by the husband in a fit of mad frenzy. But when this story came and was adapted to suit the patriarchal system we find both Yoga and Sankhya philosophies developed. Atman, the soul is indestructible. Body is nothing but an accidental cover for the ego. The latter changes it from time to time just as we change our old clothes and take new ones.

वासंसिजीर्णानि यथा विहाय नवानि गृह्णाति नरोपराणि ।

तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥

It is not necessary that the dead body should be stitched and life given to it. Sati was not dead. Nobody dies. She only changed her body as people change their clothes. She took a new body, that is all. It is also significant

that in adapting the story we find the cause and manner of Sati's death brought in conformity with the ideas of Yoga and feminine chastity prevailing amongst the then Indian Aryans. Osiris is killed by a trick. Sati dies because she cannot hear the calumnies against her husband. She dies voluntarily by a Yoga process to avoid hearing her husband's calumniators.

सती सती योगविसृष्टदेहा तांजन्मने शैलवधुं प्रपेदे ।

Even to day Sati stands as a proverbial name for the chaste woman and Asati means an unchaste woman all over India. But the close parallel, conclusive as it seems, does not end here. The first spirit of antagonism as we have seen is kept in the first stratum of the Puranas viz., non-participation in Soma and Amrita. We find the adaptation of the matriarchal story making it a patriarchal one and chastening its tone. But the story comes when the love of symbolization and mysticism had developed as stated before. We may mention the following important ideas amongst others :—

- (1) phallic emblem,
- (2) the immoral practices,
- (3) Osiris as bull,
- (4) spells and incantations,
- (5) Vāhanas and vehicles for Gods.

(1) *Phallic emblem*.—In Egyptian mythology Isis carries the phallic emblem of Osiris on her head. It is represented by a fish. The said story is added to the Mahesha concept by no means to its advantage. But the indecent element is symbolized and it is treated as the mystery of Shivaism. Fish was a "taboo" in Egypt of old days. The later Aryan Brahmins also had a strange antipathy to fish. The present form of Manusmriti has got a strange explanation of this antipathy

यो यस्य मांसमश्नाति सतस्यैव उच्यते ।

मत्स्यादः सर्वमांसादः तस्मान् मत्स्यान् विवर्जयेत् ॥

Even up to the present day, the Brahmins of the other parts of India sum up their dislike for the Brahmins of Bengal and Orissa by saying that they are fish eaters. In Haridwar big fishes are preserved causing a profane desire in the minds of the Bengali pilgrims.

(2) *Immoral practices*.—The Isis cult along with many matriarchal systems in their original forms is strangely marked with a loose morality and immoral and indecent ceremonies. These spread into Asia and are strangely masked in Asia Minor. Herodotus decried against them as found in Egypt. Greece had adopted some portions of it in the God Bacchus and the Bacchanalian rites. These practices were adopted to some extent in the Tantras. As above, a spirit of mysticism was created. A new Yoga system was evolved out of it. We have got the वामाचर and the Birachara process of Yoga system. Sakhti

and Shiva both are joined in the ceremonies. A symbolic explanation is given to the initiated by the spiritual father or Diksha Guru. These Biracharas exist even to day amongst Shakhti worshippers.

(3) *Osiris bull*.—In Egypt a particular bull was selected and was supposed to represent Osiris. The bull was kept in royal fashion and worshipped by the people. Offerings were given to the selected bull. In India Shiva or Mahesha is always represented as riding on a bull Vrisha or Vrishabha.

In India we find the worship of bulls and cows deeply engraved in the minds of the Hindus. Cow-killing is the bone of contention between Hindus and Muhammadans.

(4) *Spells and incantations*.—No doubt there were Mantras and spells before the advent of Mahesha. But a strong impetus was added to new spells and incantations. Deceased persons coming as ghosts form the bugbear of old Egyptian ideas: mummies were the outcome of such ideas. The body was preserved and food and raiment and other sources of enjoyment were painted so that the ghost might partake of them symbolically. These ideas brought in India mantras to control these ghosts and to make them the slaves of the enchanter. The Puranas minimized their importance and subsequently developed the idea of Gayâsrâdh. An offering given to the ghost at a particular place released the soul from its Prêta-dêha i.e., ghostly existence. In Egypt there was no such idea and the mummies were preserved or at any rate a painting was preserved so that the ghost might visit the body. Painted foods and other sources of enjoyment engraved or painted satisfied these ghosts. A study of this subject in all details is beyond the scope of this article.

(5) *Vâhanas or vehicles for gods*.—In Egypt we find the gods and goddesses entering into the bodies of various animals. Crocodiles, serpents, frogs, bulls, cats, etc., were the animals into whose bodies the spirits of the gods entered. They were accordingly worshipped in Egypt. In India we find in the Puranas the same idea modified. The gods do not enter into the animals, they ride upon them. Brahma is upon a duck, Lakshmi upon an owl, Mahesha on a bull, Ganesha on a mouse, Kartika on a peacock. Indra leaves his horse and rides upon the elephant. Sashthi (the Egyptian Bast) is upon a cat and so on. Of course there are symbolical explanations for all these vehicles.

On the other hand we look to Egypt and find that she evolved three ideas: (1) Worship of the sun God or the Ra cult adapted and Egyptianized; (2) Astronomy in an incomplete form without any leap year. (3) Idea of the transmigration of souls. In India, the present form of worship also started under the influence of this contact of ideas. Goddess Shakhti is

worshipped in a nude form with long tresses of hair and is blue in colour like Isis and Ishtar.

This contact takes place at a time when the Osiris and Isis cult had not developed fully. The Isis cult was greatly affected by the Ra cult and another Pta cult. But the later developments in the form of Horus—Osiris—Isis were mixed up with the total identity of the Father and Son: the complete unity in trinity, the theory of resurrection and sacrifice, these were subsequent additions to the Isis cult borrowed from or influenced by some other doctrines. It may be important to note that the Hindu idea of आत्मावैपुत्रनामासि and भार्या पतिः सन्प्रविश्य स यस्माज्जायते पुत्रः is only metaphorical and nowhere suggests the idea of complete unity. The Hindu trinity is one of different aspects of divinity. It is not that of Father and Son as in Christianity which is also mixed up with the idea of necessity of human sacrifice as atonement for sin. The God Horus, son of Osiris, is the index to show that the contact between Indian and Egyptian civilization took place at a very early stage of Egyptian civilization. There is no resemblance between Horus, the son of Osiris and the sons of Mahesha viz., Ganesh and Kartik. A close examination of the history and the mythology of ancient Egypt will put this contact sometime either very near the king Mena of Egypt or after the Hyksos' invasion. The minimum time allowed for the first will be sometime between 3000 B.C. and 4000 B.C. (Berlin system of chronology); that of the second will be during Akheneton (Amenhotep) between 1700 to 1800 B.C. On the other hand if we look to the Indian Aryans this contact takes place at a time when the Vedic deities had been symbolized. A new God was necessary for the popular minds. Viswamitra's famous Sukta (Mandal 3) महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् was already an old asset. The deities were symbolized as being aspects of the One. One God or Deity is described as representing various deities. Cf. also Mandal 7, S. 12 (3). त्वं वरुण उत मित्र अग्ने त्वां वर्द्धन्ति मतिभिर्वशिष्ठाः Even Vasistha was affected by it. Rudra has been symbolized. This contact took place when the Vedic age was coming to a close. If we accept this view we get a probable time and can fix the approximate date of the close of the Vedic age at least before 3000 B.C. to 4000 B.C. This gives us a result which is so strongly against accepted ideas of the Western scholars that it requires a closer examination. I have examined the salient points which I hope will pave the way for a further examination with scholastic impartiality. The main points which have influenced the scholars in coming to a conclusion making the Vedas comparatively modern may be summed up as under :—

(a) In many cases we find conquering nations spreading new ideas and civilization. But the two ideas are not necessarily connected; Christianity spread from Palestine without any conquest; Buddhism spread far and wide

from India and extended up to Japan even after it had declined and went out from India. No conquest was necessary. If among the Mittani or the Hittites we find Mitra, Varuna, Indra and other Vedic gods, they may have spread out of India without any corresponding conquest and even after these gods had ceased to be worshipped in India, they were worshipped by the Mittani long after the Indian Aryans had evolved them and symbolized them. Sakra is the name of Indra. As Takra or Tarka he was worshipped by the Mittani but he was married to the mother goddess: that tends to show a fusion between the sun cult and the moon cult. In the case of Mitra-worship we find it extending to the Roman Empire till the second century A.D.

(b) The Persian mythology of Yima and Yimeh and the Dēvas and Asuras have created another difficulty. But this is an argument which will show quite the contrary. In Persian mythology Deva means devil and Asura means god. In the Purans, Deva means god and Asura means devil. The Purans and Persian mythology were antagonistic. That shows there was a contact of hostility between the Purans at one stage and Persian mythology. On the other hand, in the Vedas, Asura means god *हिरण्यगिरिस्तुरः सुनीधः*. It seems that the Persians borrowed Vedic ideas long after the Vedic age had closed and the Pauranic age had begun. If we look to the form of Ahura it bears a strong resemblance to *Garuda* the bird-god of the Purans of a still later stage. Zend Avesta borrowed from the Vedas when the Vedic age had closed. An opposite view cannot explain how Deva means devil in Persian mythology.

(c) Whenever an idea is found in common, it cannot be inferred that the Vedas borrowed. On the other hand, the idea may be borrowed from the Vedas long after their growth.

(d) The internal evidence is in some places contradictory but it is far better than the records of Manetho or the history of Herodotus. Some contradictions must occur in records kept of chronologies for thousands of years. Puranas, Tantras, Smritis were developing. Old books were growing up with additions and alterations and so the present recast is mistaken for its original form. We find a parallel in case of old law books recently edited with new developments e.g., Stephen's Blackstone.

(e) The first change in Vedic worship and Vedic ideas occurred during the advent of Mahesha. He destroyed the Yajna of Daksha. Another form of worship was introduced. Fire as a god came to be greatly reduced in divinity (cf. story of *Kandavādāha*). From that time the new method of worship as stated above became popular. The Vedic God Vishnu also assimilated this new method of worship and was affecting and affected by the new ideas. Both went on developing, each acting and reacting on the other.

After this we find the Vedic ceremonies clothed with new meanings. Long after the meanings of mantras were forgotten they became only symbols. The mantras must be uttered in a certain manner to produce certain results. The change of language had made the old mantras obscure. That is the अपूर्व or विधि, etc., of the Karmakāṇḍa and Pūrva-mīmāṃsa. An elaborate system of ceremonies was developed. But it was devoid of all feeling. It was Apūrva and had to be done. Many thousands of years passed when the original worships lost their meaning and were turned into dry ceremonies. A complicated system of philosophy had evolved to explain these ceremonies in the light of Apūrva. It was at this stage that Buddha attacked these ceremonies on the ground of their cruelty towards animals. The two stages are generally confounded. After the decline of Buddhism in India when the study of Pūrva-mīmāṃsa, Sankhya, Vedānta and Upanishads was revived, it is confounded with the origin of those doctrines. Sankaracharya, Kumarila and Vijnān Vikṣu and Savara Swami are annotators and not originators of ideas.

But there is no direct evidence in history of any contact between Aryan and Egyptian civilization during the time of Mena. It is however not probable that the contact took place later as the Aryans assimilated the earlier form of the Isis story. If we study the time of Akhenaton (Amenhotep) we find that it was after the Hyksos' invasion. The Hyksos as accepted by scholars were a nation of Aryans belonging to the Hittites or Mittani branch. A conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos or a "nation of shepherds" must have brought a contact of two ideas. These Hyksos introduced horses into Egypt. In Vedas also we find horses very important. Amenhotep IV or Akhenaton comes about a century later. He was the philosopher king. His doctrines have a strong atmosphere of the Upanishads. Like Dara, son of Shah Jahan, he was a great admirer of the Upanishad philosophy. His Aton, the one God, is the same thing as the Atman of the Upanishads. His personification of Aton or God as the sun from whom the rays come out as manifestations bear a strong resemblance to Madhuchanda as translated above. If we take this contact then at or about the time of the Hyksos and Amenhotep it must be when the Upanishads had fully developed. In that case, we have to assume that an early form of Shiva or Mahesha mythology existed as Hara and Uma, before the Isis cult brought in another concept of Iswara and Isa or Sati and Sekhet. The latter concept merged into the Himalayan concept. The older stories of the Puranas corroborate this. Shiva and Sati (as Shakhti) form one episode. Then Mahesha goes away and marries the daughter of the Mountain king. The great obstacle to this theory is the Horus cult as stated above.

There must therefore be two views on a study of Egyptian mythology. The Vedic age closed and the Upanishads developed either sometime before

3000 or 4000 B.C. or secondly, this took place between 1700 and 1800 B.C. A closer and more detailed study alone can bring us to a definite conclusion or minimize the interval.

SUMMARY.

1. The concept of Mahēsha brought in new ideas to the Indian Aryans.
 2. Contact with Babylonian mythology can be detected in the Rig Veda.
First stage—Protest and dislike. Second—Adoption and assimilation.
Third—Symbolization and explanation. Probably both mythologies borrowed and improved from a common source.
 3. Merodach developed into Matariswa and then into Maruts: formerly he was Mardika. From Maruts, he becomes the father of Maruts, Rudra or Mrida. Maruts symbolized by Madhuchanda. Rudra symbolized in *Satapatha Brahmana*.
 4. Close of the Vedic Age; all the gods being symbolized. Unity perceived in diversity. Development of Aranyakas and Upanishads.
 5. A fresh contact indigenous to some extent. Himalayan concept.
 6. Contact with Egyptian mythology, Osiris and Isis, Iswara and Isa; many things can be explained which are otherwise inexplicable.
1. Phallic emblems, 2. Indecent rites, 3. Bull worship, 4. Form of Goddess Shakhti, 5. Carrying and preserving the dead body, etc., etc.
 7. Contact produced mutual results. Time may be 1700 or 1800 B.C. or 3000 to 4000 B.C. at the close of the Vedic Age.
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THE KARNATAKA COUNTRY AND LANGUAGE.

A Paper read before the Mythic Society.

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Antiquity of the Kannada Country.

THE Kannaḍa country was once under the rule of such ancient dynasties of kings as the Maurya, the Āndhra, the Kadamba and the Ganga.

It is stated in Jaina works that when a great twelve years' famine occurred during the reign of the Maurya king Chandragupta, the Jaina community under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu, the last Srutakēvali, migrated to the Punnāṭa kingdom in the south of Mysore; that king Chandragupta abdicated and accompanied Bhadrabāhu as his disciple; that on reaching Śravaṇa Belgōla, Bhadrabāhu, seeing the approach of his death, ordered the community to proceed on their journey, stopped at Śravaṇa Belgōla and died there (in B.C. 297) being attended on by his disciple Chandragupta during his last moments; and that after the death of his preceptor, Chandragupta lived there for some time and ultimately died by the Jaina rite of *Sallēkhana* or starvation. With regard to this account, Dr. Vincent Smith writes—"My present impression is that the tradition has a solid foundation on fact."* A few facts which appear to support the traditional account may be mentioned here. On the smaller hill at Śravaṇa Belgōla, there are even now a cave and a temple named after Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta respectively. An inscription† of the seventh century on the same hill states that the two ascetics, Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta lived on the hill. Two more epigraphs‡ of the ninth century near Seringapatam tell us that the same hill was marked with the foot-prints of the same ascetics.

Three inscriptions of the time of Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta, are found in the Moḷakālmuru Taluk of the Chitaldrug District in the Mysore State. Recently, an Aśōka inscription was discovered at Māski in the Nizam's Dominions. We learn from the Ceylonese Buddhist Chronicle *Mahāvamsā* that Aśōka sent a Buddhist missionary to Banavase and another to Mahisha-maṇḍala. The late Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the Mahisha-maṇḍala mentioned above did not refer to Mysore but to a province on the banks of the Narbada. But Mahisha-rāshṭra or Maisa-nāḍu occurs as the name of

* Early History of India, 3rd edition, page 146.

† Śravaṇa Belgola 17.

‡ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Seringapatam 147 and 148.

Mysore in inscriptions and literature. Maisa is only a *tadbhava*, or corrupt form of Mahisha. The above facts show the connection of the Mauryas with the Kannaḍa country.

A Prākṛit inscription* of about the middle of the second century A.D., engraved on a pillar at Maḷavalli in the Shikārpur Taluk of the Shimoga District, records a grant by Hāritiputra-Śātakarṇi for the god Īśvara of the village, and a Sanskrit inscription† of the early part of the fifth century, incised on a pillar standing in front of the Praṇavēśvara temple at Tālgunda in the same Taluk, states that the god Praṇavēśvara had been worshipped by Śātakarṇi and other kings. At Chitaldrug have been unearthed lead coins issued by the Āndhrabhṛityas and their viceroys. These facts afford evidence that the Kannaḍa country was in the possession of the Āndhras.

Below the Prākṛit inscription on the Maḷavalli pillar mentioned above, is engraved another of about the middle of the third century which registers a grant of land for the God Īśvara of Maḷavalli by a Kadamba king. Further, it is stated in the above-mentioned Tālgunda pillar inscription that the Kadamba king Kākusthavarma constructed a tank for the god Praṇavēśvara. The tank, which is in front of the Praṇavēśvara temple, is popularly known as *Paṇamana-kere*, *Paṇama* being a corrupt form of *Praṇava*, the first word in the name of the god. There is evidence to show that Kākusthavarma was a contemporary of Samudragupta (330—375 A.D.), the celebrated king of the Gupta dynasty, and was connected with him by matrimonial alliance. It is thus clear that the Kadambas were connected with the Kannaḍa country.

The numerous old records of the Gangas occurring in all parts of the Kannaḍa country bear ample testimony to their rule over it.

It was stated before that the Jaina community migrated from the north to the Punnāṭa kingdom in the south of Mysore. This ancient kingdom is known as Punnāḍ in Kannaḍa and is named Paunnata by Ptolemy in the second century A.D., who says that it was noted for the precious stone called beryl. It was ruled by Rāshṭravarma and other kings from their capital Kīrtipura, the modern Kittūr situated on the Kapini river in the Heggāḍa-dēvanakōṭe Taluk of the Mysore District.

Mysore, as stated before, is named Mahisha-rāshṭra or Maisa-nāḍu in inscriptions and literature. In the Tamil anthology called *Aga-nānūṟu*, verse 115 composed by the ancient poet Māmūlanār of about the second century A.D., the name Erumai-nāḍu occurs (*erumai* = buffalo) and the poet says that it was situated in the west (Kuḍa-nāḍu); and verse 36, attributed to Nakkīrar, another ancient poet, tells us that in a battle that was fought at Talaiyālan-

* *Ibid.*, VII, Shikārpūr 263.

† Shikārpur, 176.

kānam the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeliyan defeated the combined forces of these seven chiefs, namely, the Chēra, the Chōla, Tidiyan, Eḷini, Iruṅgōvēṇmān, Porunan and Erumaiyūrān (he of Mahishapura). Verse 253 of the same poet states that Erumaiyūrān was related to the Baḍagas. In another old Tamil work called Śilappadikāram it is stated that the Chēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvan of about the second century A.D., while on an expedition to the north, stayed on the Nilgiris and witnessed with great pleasure the dance of the Kannaḍigas. These facts testify to the antiquity of the Mysore country.

Varāhamihira, who flourished in the fifth century A.D., mentions the Karṇāṭaka country in his Bṛihatsamhitā. The poet Rājaśekhara, who lived in about A.D. 900, refers in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā to the mannerisms of the Kannaḍigas in reading their books.

Greatness of the Kannada Country.

The Kannada country was the abode of every comfort and possessed all the marks of a high state of civilisation. It was adorned by virtuous kings, distinguished scholars, able statesmen, celebrated divines, brave warriors, pious devotees, famous merchants, skilful artists and loyal servants. It is described in glowing terms by many poets and chroniclers. These descriptions are not mere poetical fancies; they are amply borne out by the accounts furnished to us by foreign writers.

Kings.—The Kannaḍa country was ruled over by such renowned kings as Śrīpurusha, Nṛipatunga, Tailapa, Tribhuvanamalla, Viṣṇuvardhana, Vira-Ballāḷa, Bukka, Harihara, Kṛishṇa-Dēva-Rāya, Rāja-nṛipa, Kaṇṭhirava-Narasa-Rāja and Chikka-Dēva-Rāja. Distinguished for their valour, justice, liberality and appreciation of merit, they have left behind names which are even now cherished and honoured in many parts of the country. Though professing a faith different from those of their subjects, they treated the latter with marked impartiality and extended their support to all alike. Whenever there was a quarrel between different creeds, they took up the rôle of arbiters and brought about reconciliation. Merit, wherever found, was appreciated and honoured by them.

Scholars.—The Kannaḍa country was the birth-place of Madhvāchārya, the leader of the Dvaita school of philosophy, and gave shelter to Śankarāchārya and Rāmānujāchārya, the leaders respectively of the Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita schools of philosophy. It was also the birth-place of Basavēśvara, the leader of the Vīraśaiva sect. The monasteries established by these leaders with their numerous branches are to be found all over the country. Moreover, the Kannaḍa country was deservedly famous for its pre-eminent scholars, ascetics, philosophers and devotees such as Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya, Sāyaṇāchārya, Śrīpādarāya, Vyāsarāya, Rāghavēndra-yati,

Anantāchārya, Vēdāntāchārya, Purandara-dāsa, Kanaka-dāsa, Siddharāma, Tōṇṭada-Siddhalinga, Nēmichandra and Śubhachandra.

Warriors.—We learn from the Ceylon chronicles that a Chōḷa king named Elala conquered Ceylon in 205 B.C., with the help of a Mysore army.* In an inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga, it is stated that the Karṇāṭaka army was capable of defeating the ruler of Kānchi and the Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kings.†

Merchants.—It was stated before that lead coins of the Āndhrabhṛitya kings were unearthed near Chitaldrug. There were, likewise, found at the same place a brass coin of the Chinese emperor Han Wu-ti of about the middle of the second century B.C., and silver coins known as *denarii* of the Roman Emperor Augustus who died in A.D. 14. These finds lead us to the not unreasonable inference that the Kannaḍa country had in ancient times commercial intercourse with distant foreign countries. In inscriptions and literature, the epithets Vaḍḍa-vyavahāri (great merchant) and Rāja-śrēshṭhi (royal merchant) are applied to prominent merchants. An inscription‡ of about 1120 A.D., states that Hōysaḷa-seṭṭi and Nēmi-seṭṭi were the royal merchants of the Hōysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana; another§ of 1188 A.D., tells us that Cheṭṭapa-seṭṭi imported in ships excellent horses and elephants and superior pearls and sold them to kings, and that Dāseya transported commodities of the East to the West and *vice versa* and articles of the South to the North and *vice versa* and a third ¶ of 1255 A.D., says that Kunjanambi-seṭṭi, a celebrated merchant of the Hōysaḷa kingdom, supplied all the things required by the Māḷava, Kaḷinga, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings.

Artists.—The ornate buildings erected by the artists of the Kannaḍa country at Ellora, Iṭṭagi, Bēlūr, Haḷebid, Somanāthapūr, Nandi, Śṛingēri, Śṛavaṇa Belgōḷa, Hampe and other places have caused not a little astonishment to foreign experts. Some of these artists have recorded their names on the pedestals of the images executed by them, *this practice being rarely found outside Mysore*. *A word may here be said about some peculiar features of the Vidyāśankara temple at Śṛingēri built in about 1357 A.D. Its plan is unique in India; it is apsidal (oval) at both the ends. Even temples apsidal at one end are rather rare in India. The plan of this temple is somewhat similar to that of Trajan's *basilica* at Rome, built in A.D. 98, with apses at both the ends. The skill of the artists who designed and built such a unique temple is beyond all praise. Further, the central hall is supported by twelve

* Mitton's *The Lost Cities of Ceylon*, 26.

† *Indian Antiquary* XI, 114.

‡ Śṛavaṇa Belgōḷa 137, revised edition.

§ Arsikere 22.

¶ Arsikere 108.

well-carved pillars, each of which has sculptured on its back, a sign of the zodiac such as the ram, the bull and so forth, arranged in such a way that, the rays of the sun fall on them in the order of the solar months.

Loyal servants.—The Kannaḍa country was adorned by loyal servants, both men and women, who showed their undying attachment and fidelity to their master—by readily laying down their lives. One or two instances will suffice. On the death of the Hōysaḷa king Ballaḷa II in 1220 A.D., a prince of the name of Kuvara-Lakshma, deeming it a shame to survive his lord, died with his wife and his whole battalion of a thousand choice warriors.* Honni, a female-servant of Honnavve-Nāyakiti, had her head cut off on the death of her mistress in 1215 A.D.† Another remarkable instance of selfless devotion is furnished by a family of chiefs who were faithful servants of the Hōysaḷa kings. They took upon themselves a vow not to survive their lords and committed suicide along with their wives and men and women servants, in regular succession, on the death of their successive masters.‡

Antiquity of the Kannaḍa Language.

According to Jaina tradition Brāhmi, the daughter of Rishabhadēva, the first Tirthankara, invented eighteen alphabets including, among others, Kannaḍa. Recently a curious inscription of about the ninth century was found in a Jaina temple in the Deogarh Fort containing specimens of different alphabets mostly Dravidian.§ The occurrence of some Kannaḍa words in a Greek drama of the second century A.D., discovered at Oxyrrhincus in Lower Egypt, is well known. Among the Kannaḍa authors that preceded him, Nṛipatunga mentions Durvinita who is most probably the Ganga king of that name who ruled about A.D. 500. Kannaḍa inscriptions make their appearance from about the fifth century A.D. Besides the authors named by Nṛipatunga, Śrīvardhadēva and Śyāmakundāchārya appear to have written in Kannaḍa in about 700. Amṛitasāgara, a Jaina Tamil poet who flourished before the eleventh century, states in his Yāpparaṅgalakkāṛigai, a work on prosody, that there existed in the Kannaḍa language a work on prosody, named *Guṇagāṅkiyam*, and that the Tamil work adopted some of its characteristics, one of which was addressing the rules to a woman. Unfortunately, the name of the author is not given, nor has the work come down to us. It is very probable that this author dedicated his work to the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya III (884—888) who had the distinctive epithets *Guṇaga*, *Guṇagāṅka* and *Guṇaka-malla*.

* *Ep. Car.* V, Bēlūr 212.

† *Ibid.*, XI, Molakūlmuru 12.

‡ *Ibid.*, IV, Kṛishṇarājapēṭe 10.

§ *Report on the Hindu and Buddhist Monuments*, Northern Circle, for 1918, p. 10.

Patronage of the Kannada Language.

From the earliest times kings and nobles have patronised Kannaḍa language and literature. Among the patrons may be mentioned the Gangas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Western Chālukyas, the Kākatīyas, the Hōysaḷas, the Eastern Chālukyas, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Śilāhāras of Karāḍ, the Koṅgāḷvas, the Chengāḷvas, the Tuḷuva kings, the Chauṭas, and the kings of Vijayanagar and Mysore : as also the Pāḷegārs or Chiefs of Ummattūr, Nuggehalli, Sugaṭūr, Piriyaṭṭaṇa, Hadināḍu, Bēlūr, Chikkanāyakanhalli Mudigere, Bijjavara, Ikkēri and Kaḷale. Besides these kings and chiefs, ministers, generals and other officers subordinate to them and many minor chiefs have also encouraged literary men. It is also worthy of note that not a few of the above-mentioned kings, chiefs and high personages were themselves authors of works in Kannada. These statements will now be illustrated in some detail by a few examples.

The Gangas.—It is very probable that the Ganga king Durvinita (C. 500) is identical with his name sake mentioned as a Kannaḍa prose writer by Nṛipatunga. As we learn from an inscription* that the work *Gajāśṭaka* composed by Śivamāra (C. 800) was sung by women when pounding grain, it must have been a Kannaḍa work. Eṇṇeyappa (900) who had the distinctive title Mahēndrāntaka, was the patron of Guṇavarma I, the author of the *Śūdraka*, the *Harivamśa* and other works. Chāvuṇḍarāya, the minister of Rāchamalla, composed the *Chāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* in 978. Nāgavarma I, who was patronised by Rāchamalla's younger brother Rakkasa-Ganga, was the author of the *Chhandombudhi* and other works.

The Rāshtrakūṭas.—It is well known that among these kings Nṛipatunga (814-877) was an author. The title "matchless poet" is applied in an inscription† to Śrīvijaya-dandanātha, a subordinate of Indra-Rāja III (915—917). Kṛishna-Rāja III (839—868) bestowed the title *Kavi-chakravartī* on the poet Ponna.

The Western Chālukyas.—The feudatory chief Arikēsari was the patron of the famous poet Pampa I. King Tailapa (973—987) conferred on the poet Ranna the title *Kavi-chakravartī*. Śrīdharāchārya, who was patronised by Āhavamalla (1043—1068), wrote the *Jātaka-tilaka* in 1049. Śāntinātha, the minister of the chief Lakshma who was a subordinate of Bhūvanaika-malla (1068—76), was the author of the poem *Sukumāra-charite*; and Nāgavarmāchārya, the minister for peace and war of Udayāditya, the great minister of the same king, composed the *Chandrachūdāmaṇi-śataka*. Under the patronage of Māchi-Rāja, a subordinate of king Āhavamalla's son Jayasimha,

* (Ep. Car. VIII, Nagar 35).

† (Epigraphia Indica, X, 150).

Chandrarāja wrote the *Madana-tilaka* and other works; another son of the same king, Kīrtivarma, a younger brother of Vikramāditya, was the author of *Gōvaidya*; and Brahmaśiva, a protégé of the same king and a friend of Kīrtivarma, wrote the *Samaya-parīkṣhe* and the *Trailōkyarakshāmaṇi-stōtra*. Nāgavarma II was the court poet of Jagadēkamalla II (1138—1150); Durgasimha, the minister for peace and war of the same king, wrote the *Panchatantra*; and Madhusūdhana-dēva, the composer of the inscription Dāvāngere 41, was honoured by Vīra-Pāṇḍya of Uchchangi, a feudatory of the same sovereign.

The Kākatīyas.—It is stated that Rāghavānka (C. 1165) read his poem *Vīrēsvara-charite* at the court of Pratāparudra of Warāṅgal and was honoured by the king. Pāṅkurike Somanātha flourished during the time of another Pratāparudra (C. 1300).

The Hoysalas.—Abhinava-Pampa and the poetess Kanti seem to have been honoured at the court of Ballāḷa I (1100—1106). Rājāditya wrote his *Kshētra-gaṇita* and other mathematical works during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana (1,111—1,141). Sumanōbāṇa, the father of the poet Janna, was the court poet of Nārasimha I (1141—1173). The authors, Kereya Padmarasa and Hariśvara were respectively the minister and the accountant of the same king. Ballāḷa II (1173—1220) conferred the title *Kavi-chakravartī* on the poet Janna. His minister Bāchi-rāja is described in an inscription as the equal of Ponna in poetical skill. At the instance of two other ministers of his, namely, Chandramauli and Vasudhaikabāndhava Rēcharasa, Rudrabhatta and Āchaṇṇa wrote respectively the *Jagannātha-vijaya* and the *Vardhamāna-purāṇa*. Under the patronage of Padmanābha, another subordinate of his, Nēmichandra composed the *Ardhanēmi*. Polāḷva-daṇḍanātha, the minister of Nārasimha II (1220-1235), was the author of the poem *Harichāritra*. Mallikārjuna, the father of Kēśirāja, wrote the *Sūktisudhārṇava* for the recreation of Somēśvara (1233—1254).

The Eastern Chālukyas.—As stated before, *Guṇagāṅkiyam*, a work on prosody, came into existence during the reign of Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya (844—888). Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa, who helped Nannayya-bhaṭṭa, the court poet of Rājārāja (1022-1063), in the composition of the Telugu Bhārata, was also a Kannaḍa poet.

The Raṭṭas of Saundatti.—Pārśva-paṇḍita, the author of the *Pārśva-nātha-purāṇa*, was the court poet of Kārtavīrya IV (1202—1220), and the poet Bālachandra-kavikandarpa also flourished during the same reign. Guṇavarma II was patronised by Śāntivarma, a subordinate of the same king.

The Śilāhāras of Karāḍ.—By order of Lakshmaṇa-Rāja, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, Kaṇṇapārya wrote the *Nēminātha-purāṇa*. The *Līlāvatī*

was also composed during the same reign by Nēmichandra.

The Kongāḷvas.—Mauktika-kavi, the author of the *Chandranāthāshṭaka*, seems to have been patronised by Vira-Kongāḷva (C. 1120).

The Changāḷvas.—Mangarasa III, who wrote the *Samyaktva-kaumudi* (1508) and other works, was the son of Vijaya, the chief of Kallahalli, who was the hereditary minister of the Chengāḷva kings. Nañjuṇḍa wrote the *Kumārārāma-kathe* during the reign of Chengāḷva Nañja-Rāya (1502—1533).

The Tuḷuva kings.—At the instance of Bhairava's son Pāṇḍya-Rāya, king of the Tuḷuva country, the *Jñānāchandrabhyudayā* was composed by Kalyāṇakīrti in 1439. Kōṭīśvara wrote the *Jivandhara-shaṭpadi* in about 1500 by order of Haiva-nṛipa's son Sangama, the ruler of Sangītapura. Ratnākaravarṇi, the author of the *Bharatēśvara-charite*, which he wrote in 1557, received the title *Śṛīngara-kavi* at the court of Bhairasa-Oḍeyar of the Tuḷuva country. Sālva, the author of the *Bhārata* and other works, was the court poet of Sālva-malla, the king of the Tuḷuva, Haiva and Konkaṇa countries. It was by order of Bhairavēndra of the Kelavane [?; ED.] throne that Bāhubali wrote the *Nāgakumāra-charite* and Chandrama the *Gōmaṭēśvaracharite*. Ādiyappa wrote the *Dhanyakumāra-charite* under the patronage of king Bhairava-Rāya of Gērasoppe, and Pāyaṇṇa his *Ahimsā-charite* under the patronage of the son of king Sangama-Rāya of Sangītapura. Chandraśēkhara, the author of the first part of the *Rāmachandra-charitra*, was the court poet of Lakṣhmaṇa-Bangarāja of the Tuḷuva country, and Padmanābha completed the work in 1750 under the patronage of Chenna-Rāya, the ruler of Mūlike.

The Chauṭas.—During Chennamāmbe's reign, Tirumala-sāmanta's treasurer Padmanābha wrote the *Padmāvati-charite* and during Abbakkadēvi's reign, Pāṭṭabhirāma composed the *Ratnaśēkhara-charite*. Surāla wrote the *Padmāvati-charite* in 1761 by order of Chennammadēvi, the queen of Chandraśēkhara-Chikkarāya.

The Vijayanagar kings.—Mangarasa I, the ruler of Mugulipura, wrote the *Khagēndramanidarpana* during the rule of Harihara I (1336—1363). Madhura, the author of the *Dharmanātha-purāṇa*, was the court poet of Harihara II (1377—1404). Dēparāja, son of the first Bukkā's son Kamparāja, wrote the *Sobaginasōne* and other works. The authors, Lakkaṇṇa-daṇḍēśa and Jakkaṇārya were the ministers of Dēva-Rāya II (1419—1446). Chandra-kavi was patronised by Gururāya, another minister of the same king. The poets Chāmarasa, Magge Māyidēva, Gurubasava and Battalēśvara wrote their works under the patronage of the same sovereign, and Kumāra-Vyāsa also seems to have written his *Bhārata* during the same reign. It was during the rule of Mallikārjuna (1446—1467) that Kallarasa wrote the *Janavaśya*.

Tōṇṭada-Siddhalinga flourished during the reign of Virūpāksha (1467—1478). Kavi-Liṅga was the court poet of Sāluva-Narasīṅga (1487—1493). By order of Kṛishṇa-Dēva-Rāya (1509—1529) Timmaṇṇa-kavi wrote the latter portion of the *Bhārata*. Sadānandayogi appears to have written his *Bhāgavata* during the rule of Achyuta-Rāya (1530—1542). Emme-basava was honoured by Salakārāja's son Tirumalārāja, a subordinate of Sadāśiva-Rāya (1543—1567). Bhaṭṭākalaṅka wrote the *Sāra-traya* at the instance of Śrī-Raṅga-Rāya I (1573—1584) and his disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka wrote the grammatical work *Śabdānuśāsana* during the rule of Venkaṭapati-Raya I (1586—1605).

The Mysore kings.—Rajāṇṇipa's (1578—1617) minister Tirumalārya was the author of the *Karnavṛittānta-kathe*. King Chāma-Raja (1617—1637) wrote prose versions of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa*, and under his patronage, Rāmachandra wrote the *Aśva-śāstra* and Padmaṇapaṇḍita the *Hayasāra-samuchchaya*. The authors Bhārati-Naṅja and Govinda-vaidyā were the protégés of Kaṇṭhirava-Narasa-Rāja (1638—1659), and the mathematical work *Bēhāra-ganita* was composed by Bhāskara under the patronage of the same king. King Chikka-Dēva-Rāja (1672—1704) was not only an author himself, having written the *Binnapa* and other works, but also patronised a large number of poets and poetesses. Among the former may be mentioned his ministers Tirumalārya and Chikkupādhyāya, the poets Timma-kavi, Mallikārjuna, Singarārya, Vēṇugopāla-varaprasāda, Chidānanda-kavi, and Mallarasa, and the poetesses Honnamma and Śringāramma. Kṛishṇa-Rāja I (1713—1731) patronised the authors Cheluva and Rāmāyaṇam Tirumalāchārya, and his queen Cheluvāmbē wrote the *Varanandi-kalyāṇa* and other works. The authors Venkāmātya and Katti Gopāla-rāja were the subordinates of Kṛishṇa-Rāja II (1734—1766). Singarāchārya wrote the *Śrīraṅga-māhātmya* under the patronage of Chāma-Rāja (1770—1776) and Dēvachandra wrote his *Rājāvali-kathe* by order of Dēvīrammaṇṇi, the queen of Khāsā Chāma-Rāja (1776—1796). Kṛishṇa-Rāja III (1799—1868) was not only a voluminous writer himself but was also a munificent patron of literary merit. By his encouragement, many works were written by Aḷiya Liṅgarāja, Naṅjuṇḍa of Dēvalāpura, Śrinivāsa-kavi, Śāntirāja-panḍita, Venkaṭarāma-śāstri, Subrahmaṇya, Naṅjappa of Maddagiri, Sitārāma-sūri, Kempu Nārāyaṇa, Rāmakṛishṇa-śāstri, Kamala-panḍita and others. By order of his queens, Cheluvājammaṇṇi and Dēvājammaṇṇi, Bhāgavatam Kṛishṇasvāmi wrote a Kannaḍa version of the *Vāsishṭha-Rāmāyana* in 1869.

The Pāḷegārs.—Nilakaṇṭhāchārya wrote the *Ārādhyā-charitrē* under the patronage of Vīra-Naṅjendra (1482—1494) of Ummattūr; Liṅga-mantri wrote the lexicon *Kabbigara-kaiṇṇi* at the instance of Rāya-bhūpa of Nuggehalli; Mūmmaḍi Tamma of Sugaṭūr was the author of the *Śankara-samhite*.

Doḍḍayya, the author of the *Chandraprabha-charite*, was patronised by Virupa-rāja of Piriyaṭṭaṇa; Narasimha-bhaṭṭa composed the medical work *Vaidyasāra-saṅgraha* by order of Chennarāja of Hadināḍu; and Sūrya-kavi, the author of the lexicon *Kavikaṇṭhahāra* was a protégé of Venkatādri-Nāyaka (1626—1643) of Bēlūr. Sōsale Rēvaṇāchārya wrote Kannada versions of some Sanskrit works at the instance of Mudiyaṭṭa-Nāyaka of Chikka-nāyakanhalli and of Raghuvappa-Nāyaka of Mudigere. Virakta Tōṇṭadārya, the author of the *Siddhēśvara-purāṇa* and several other works, was patronised by Tōṇṭadā Siddhalinga-bhūpa of Bijjavara, and Mallikārjuna-kavi by Immaḍi Chikkabhūpa of the same place. By order of Venkaṭappa-Nāyaka (1582—1629) of Ikkēri, Tirumala-bhaṭṭa wrote the *Śiva-gīte*. Basavappa-Nāyaka (1697—1714) of Ikkēri was the author of the *Sūktisudhākara* and his successor Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka's minister Nirvāṇaiya wrote the *Śivapūjā-vidhāna*. The Kaḷale chief Virā-Rāja wrote the *Vaidyasamhitāsārārṇava* and his protégé Chennayya the *Padmini-parinaya*. Dēva-Rāja, son of Vīra-Rāja, was the patron of Rangaiya, the author of the *Tulākāvēri-māhātmya*. Naṇṇa-Rāja, younger brother of Dēva-Rāja, was himself a voluminous author, under whose patronage Nūronḍa wrote the *Saundarakāvya* and Venkatēsa the *Hālāsya-māhātmya*.

Further, Dēva-kavi (C. 1200), the author of the *Kusumāvaḷi*, was patronised by Chikkarāja-chamūpa; Mahābala-kavi (1254) who wrote the *Nēminātha-purāṇa* by Kēteya-Nāyaka; Vijayaṇṇa (1448), the author of the *Dvādaśānuprēksha*, by Honnabandi Dēva-Rāja, the ruler of Vemmanabhāvi in the Bēluvala-nāḍu; and Bommarasa (C. 1450), who composed the *Saundara-purāṇa* by Tipparasa, the ruler of ḍenkaṇikōṭe.

Some more authors appear to have been minor chiefs in possession of a small principality or one or more villages. The following table gives their names, works and approximate periods:—

AUTHOR	WORK	TIME
Udayāditya, son of the Chōḷa chief		
Sōmanātha	Udayādityāḷankāra ...	C. 1150
Sōmarāja, son of Induśēkhararāja ...	Udbhaṭa-kavya ...	1222
Mādhava, ruler of Hiriyūr ...	Mādhavāḷankāra ...	C. 1500
Viruparāja, a Bhīma among the Chōḷas	Tribhuvana-tilaka ...	1519
His son Virabhadrarāja	Virabhadravijaya ...	C. 1530
Rāmēndra, son of Rāmabhūpati, ruler of Kākoḷal	Saundarya-kathāratna ...	C. 1550
Anṇāji, son of Ayyanabhūpa	Saundara-vilāsa ...	C. 1600
Śringārakavi, son of Bommarasa, ruler of Rasavāḷi	Karṇāṭaka-saṅgiṇava ...	"

Virabadrarāja, son of Nṛsimharāja	Commentary on Pālakāpya's		
	Hastyāyurvēda	...	C. 1600
Jakka-bhūpāla	Bhāratakathāsaṅgraha	...	C. 1620
Narahari, ruler of Ballaḷapura	Prabalāda-charitre	...	C. 1650
Virājanapati, ruler of the Belgōḍu	Vikrama-vilāsa	...	"
Śeṣha, younger brother of Rāghava-			
bhūvara	Rukmāṅgaḍa-charitre	...	"
Basavarājendra	Mahāvibhūtimahime	...	C. 1700
Nañjanātha-Bhūpāla	Vaidyasāra-saṅgrah	...	"
Chennarāja	Veṅkaṭeśvar-śataka	...	C. 1750
Nañjayya, son of Lingarājendra	Kapōtavākya	...	"
Kṛishṇarāja of Salem	Vivēkābharaṇa, etc.	...	C. 1769

THE PANAMALAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA

BY K. G. ŚANKARA, B.A., B.L., TRIVANDRUM.

ROUND the base of the structural temple, built by superposing blocks of stones on one another, on a rock in Panamalai (a village in the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency), there is a Grantha-Pallava inscription which Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil has discovered and edited [Pallava Antiquities, Vol. 1, pp. 11-23]. The beginning and the end of the inscription are concealed by a structure of bricks built in front of the temple. The letters are well-preserved except towards the middle wherefrom a stone has been removed. The translation in Dr. Dubreuil's book is by Mr. S. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Ayyangār.

It seems that both text and translation can be improved. Neither the editor, nor translator seems to have noticed that the inscription is in verses, as Dr. Dubreuil's reference to the first 'sentence' also indicates. It is made up of the major part of the last quarter of a Sragdharā verse, almost the whole of two other Sragdharās and a Vasanta-tilakā, an Indra-vajrā, and the major part of the first half of a fourth Sragdharā. The first three quarters and the first three syllables of the last quarter of the first Sragdharā, syllables 17 to 19 of the second quarter and 5 to 7 of the third quarter of the second Sragdharā, syllables 14 to 21 of the last quarter of the third Sragdharā, the first six syllables of the first quarter of the Vasanta-tilakā, and the first six syllables of the first, the 14th and 15th syllables of the second, and the whole of the third and last quarters of the fourth Sragdharā are missing. I give below my reading and translation of the inscription rearranged as verses, followed by critical and explanatory notes. I have enclosed omissions supplied in small and doubtful readings in rectangular brackets.

Text.

“(Aṣvatthā) [mō]-dapādi prathita-bhuja-balō Drōṇir amṣah Purārēh ||

[Aṣvatthā]-[mō]’tha tasmān nichita-guru-tapōnimmalād āvirāsīd

Āmnāyād anga-vidyā-visara iva mahi-valla-(bhah Palla-) vākhyah |

Yasmād ēsha-(s sadā’dyē) pathi-vihita-padād pāvanē mānanīyō

Mandākinyā (h) pravāhah ṣaṣina iva mahān anvayah Pallavānām ||

Samrājāṁ aṣvamē-[dhā]-vabhṛta-virajasām bhūbhujām Pallavānām

Asprst-āpal-lavānām vimala-tara-Bharadvāja-vamṣ-ōdbhavānām |

Kētōr akshī-[ṇa]-bāhu-draviṇa-hṛta-mahīchakra-vikhyāta-kīrttēr

Yyō dēvād ēkamallād Guha iva para-(mād Iṣvarād āvirāsīt ||)

. bhu-[ja]-dra-[vi-]ṇ-āvabhāsi sattvōrjji-[tah] samara-dr-
 [shṭa]-mahā-prabhāva [h] !
 Yō Rājasimha-iti-viṣruta-puṇya-Kīrttir
 U-[dvr] tta-ṣatru-nrpa-kunjara-rājasimhah ṁ
 Harttā dvishad-vargga-samuchṣrayāṇām
 Karttā cha kalyāṇa-paramparāṇām !
 Chittē sadā-[sam] bhrta-bhakti pūtē
 Dhattē [padam] yasya mrgā-[n-]ka-mō-[lih] ṁ
 [tēh] sala-kusuma-krtām kāntim ālambamāṇāh
 Sad-vrtt-āmbhō-nishékair drumā iva sa-[ta] . . shmatastē'si-dharm-
 mam ṁ".

Translation.

Far-famed for the strength of his arm, was born Aṣvatthāman, the son of Drōṇa, and an embodied part of (Śiva), the destroyer of the (three) cities (of the Asuras *i.e.*, demons).

Then from that Aṣvatthāman, freed from his sin (of embryocide) by accumulating great penance, there appeared the beloved of the spacious earth named Pallava, as from the Vēdic collection sprang forth the auxiliary sciences.

From whom this great family of Pallavas, which is worthy of honour because of its (constant) treading in the (ancient) and holy path (of righteousness, spread continuously out), as, from the hare-marked moon, the continuous flow of the celestial Ganges.

He who (appeared) from Êka-malla-dēva (*i.e.*, the unequalled athletic lord), whose fame was published throughout the circle of the spacious earth won by the undiminished prowess of his arm, and who was the banner of the Pallava enjoyers of the earth who were universal sovereigns purified of their sins (of conquest) by the closing purificatory baths of horse-sacrifices, who were untouched by the least particle of danger, and who were sprung from the most pure family of Bharadvāja; even as Guha (appeared) from the supreme (Lord Paramēṣvara).

Who shines by the prowess of his arm; who is mighty in his strength; whose great valour is seen in battle; and who, being a royal lion to the elephants, the haughty enemy-kings, lives in well-known and auspicious fame as Rāja-simha;

Who takes away the elevations (in power and fame) of the tribe of hostile kings; who is also the celebrator of an unbroken succession of festivals; and in whose mind, purified by constantly-fostered devotion, (Śiva), who wears on his crest the deer-marked moon, holds his foot.

Assuming the brightness of water-flowers, by sprinklings of the water of good observances, like a tree (always) . . . thy sword practice

Critical and Explanatory Notes.

Mr. Krshṇasvāmi's reading 'u' in 'udapādi' is supported neither by the plate, nor by the metre which requires a long vowel as in 'mō.' 'Prathita' means 'far-famed', not merely 'famed' as he renders it. Drōṇa was a great archer, and the teacher of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. Mr. Krshṇasvāmi has failed to bring out the comparison implied in 'Purārēh'. Śiva is aptly described as the original of Aṣvatthāman who destroyed the Pāṇḍavas' embryos in revenge for their causing his father's death in the Bhārata war by spreading a false report of his own death.

Mr. Krshṇasvāmi's reading 'Drōṇi nā' is wrong, for metre requires the second syllable to be long, and 'Drōṇir' cannot be substituted, as 'Drōṇi', when used as a separate word, must be in the genitive. He omits to translate 'atha', and renders 'nichita' = 'accumulated' by 'performed'. He has failed to bring out the force of 'nimmalāt.' He has translated 'angavidyāh' by 'sciences of the Vēdāṅga' instead of by 'the Vēdāṅga sciences'. He has failed to bring out the force of the purposeful use of 'visara' and 'pravāhah'. Pallava is evidently referred to as the first king of the dynasty. The auxiliary sciences are :—1°. Śikshā *i.e.*, phonetics; 2°. Chhandas *i.e.*, metre; 3°. Nirukta *i.e.*, etymology; 4°. Vyākaraṇa *i.e.*, grammar; 5°. Jyōtisha *i.e.*, astronomy; 6°. Kalpa *i.e.*, ritual. A bas-relief in the veranda surrounding the 'vimāna' of the Vaikunṭha Perumāl temple, known also as the Paramēśvara Viṣṇugrha at Kānchī represents the birth of Pallava on a litter of sprouts (= Skt. 'pallava'). The Kāṣakuḍi plate [S.I.I., Vol 2, pt. 3, p. 355] relates that Indra, afraid of losing his position owing to Aṣvatthāman's austerities, sent Mēnaka, the divine nymph, to seduce him, and that in consequence Pallava was born on a litter of sprouts. But in another inscription [S.I.I., Vol. 1, No. 32] Pallava's mother is said to have been a Nāga princess instead. The 'Kānchī Māhātmya' of the 'Brāhmaṇḍa Purāṇa' differs from all these when it says that Pallava and Villava [Ch. 30, vv. 46, 58, 62, 65] were the sons of Virōchana, king of Vidarbha, who was the son of Rukmi, the brother of Krshṇa's wife Rukmīṇī [ibid. 1-2, 10-1] and that they were born, lived as Vaishṇavas, performed Aṣvamēdha and died, all at Kānchī [ibid. 58-9, 63, 66-7, 71], also known as the Satyavrata Kshētra [Ch. 2, v. 4, 12; Ch. 30, v. 73].

Mr. Krshṇasvāmi omits to translate 'ēshah.' He emends 'pāvanē' into 'pāvanō' wrongly construing it with 'anvayah' instead of with 'pathi.' Mandākinī is a distinctive term for the celestial course of the Ganges before

it falls on earth. Cf. "Mandākinī viyad-Gangā" [Amara-Kōṣa. I. i. 49.] Literally, it means 'the slowly and crookedly coursing river.' The *pitr̥s*, *i.e.*, the spirits of the dead are said to bathe in its waters to be purified of their sins, and, since they abide in the moon, the Mandākinī was perhaps imagined to flow from the moon. The purity of the Pallavas, and the Mandākinī is the point of comparison.

Mr. Kṛṣṇasvāmi, unauthorised, makes the Aṣvamēdhas numerous and the closing baths frequent. He takes the feminine 'addhr̥ṣṭā' with the masculine 'anvayah' and as identical with 'adr̥ṣṭa.' But the one means 'invincible' while the other means 'unseen.' He thought 'Pallavānām' was again repeated when we should read 'aspr̥ṣṭa + āpat + lavānām.' He has rendered 'vimala' = 'pure' by 'holy', 'vāmṣa' = 'family' by 'gōtra' and 'tribe', and 'udbhavānām' = 'sprung from' by 'belonged to.' Bharadvāja was Dr̥ṇa's father and a Vēdic seer. Hence the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhāradvāja gōtra. The Aṣvamēdha can be performed only after letting loose the sacrificial horse to wander freely for a year and conquering all kings who seek to restrain its movements. It therefore amounts to an assertion of universal sovereignty.

Mr. Kṛṣṇasvāmi has paraphrased 'kētōh' as 'chief' instead of rendering it as 'banner.' The passage 'kētōh.....kīrttēh', he applies to Rājasimha instead of to Ēkamalla-dēva, as the ablative indicates. He takes 'dēvāt' with 'Īṣvarāt' instead of with the next succeeding 'Ēkamallāt.' He translates 'vikhyāta' = 'published' by 'spread'; and the passage 'who bore the title' in his translation corresponds to nothing in the text. Ēkamalla was a title of Rājasimha's father Paramēṣvara-varman I [S.I.I., Vol. 1, No. 24]. The phrase 'circle of the spacious earth' refers perhaps to the spherical shape of the earth. Of Paramēṣvara's prowess, we know that he defeated the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya I [S.I.I., Vol. 1, p. 154] at Peruvaṇallūr (10 miles north-west of Trichy) [S.I.I., Vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 371] in 674 A.C. [Ep. Ind., Vol. 10, p. 101], and that he had the titles Ugradāṇḍa, and Lōkāditya [S.I.I., Vol. 1, p. 13.] Guha is identical with the God Subrahmaṇya, and was perhaps so called because of his secret birth among the reeds. Cf. 'Śaravaṇa-bhava.' As God of War, he is compared with Rājasimha. 'Paramāt Īṣvarāt' perhaps suggests that Rājasimha's father also was named Paramēṣvara.

Mr. Kṛṣṇasvāmi reads 'avabhāsi'; but both plate and metre require the final vowel to be long. He takes 'sattvōrjjita' to qualify 'darpa' implied in 'dr̥pta' a misreading of 'dr̥ṣṭa.' But 'samaradr̥pta' means 'proud with battle,' not 'warlike pride'; and metre requires the final vowel in 'sattvōrjjita' to be long. He emends 'prabhava,' a misreading for 'prabhāva,' into 'subhava,' thereby making the passage meaningless. He

has rendered 'mahāprabhāvaḥ' as 'radiant,' and not 'great valour.' He takes 'puṇyakīrttiḥ' with 'Rājasimha,' and 'Rājasimha iti' with 'viṣruta' instead of taking both 'Rājasimha iti' and 'viṣruta puṇya' with 'Kīrttiḥ.' His 'udrtta' is an obvious misreading for 'udvṛtta,' as both metre and sense require the initial vowel to be long. He has rendered 'uddhṛta' = 'uprooted' as 'destroyed.' He has taken 'Rājasimha' to mean 'king of lions' instead of 'lion of kings' or 'royal lion,' apparently confusing it with 'simharāja,' and thereby making Rājasimha and his subjects animals of the lion species. He translates 'samuchṣrayāṇām harttā' as merely meaning 'destroyer,' and 'vargga' = 'tribe' by 'crowd.' He has rendered 'paramparā' by 'all.'

Mr. Kṛṣṇasvāmi has not at all understood the latter half of the penultimate stanza. He reads 'sabhṛta' or 'sadhṛta,' both meaningless mistakes for 'sambhṛta' as both sense and metre require. He confuses 'dhattē' = 'holds' with 'datvā,' — 'having given,' and 'sambhṛta' = 'fostered' with 'sabhṛta' or 'sadhṛta' which he somehow takes to mean 'unremittingly holding.' 'Yasya' = 'of whom,' he translates by 'to whom' and 'mrgāṅka' = 'deer-marked' by 'deer-spotted.' The moon-spot is variously imaged as the hare, the deer, etc. This stanza clearly proves that Rājasimha was a Śaiva, a fact which Mr. Kṛṣṇasvāmi has failed to note, and which his translation does not bring out. Another inscription refers to Rājasimha as a Śaiva [S.I.I., Vol. 1, No. 24]. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates refer to Rājasimha as having built a stone temple for Śiva resembling Kailāsa, evidently the Rājasimhēśvara or Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchī, [G.O., 28th July 1911, p. 61]. He also built the Airāvateśvara temple at Kānchī, the shore temple at Māmallapura, and the Panamalai temple [Dr. Dubreuil; 'The Pallavas,' p. 45], and favoured Brāhmaṇs, loading them with gifts [S.I.I., Vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 342, 371]. Rājasimha was a characteristic title of Narasimhavarman II (C. 700 A.C.), who was also known as Narasimhavishṇu, Narasimhapōtavarman [J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 522], and Atiraṇachanda [S.I.I., Vol 1, p. 15; G.O. No. 538, 28th July 1909, p. 77]. This inscription dates therefore c. 700 A.C.

The discovery of the Panamalai temple and inscription has enabled Dr. Dubreuil to fix the characteristic marks of the Rājasimha style of architecture, and to show that different scripts were in use in his age and country at the same time. The features of the Rājasimha style are:—1°. By the four sides of the sanctuary are placed collateral niches opening only east or west which contain lingams; 2°. The lingams are not cylindrical, but prismatic with eight or sixteen faces often slightly fluted; 3°. The walls behind the 'garbhagṛha' are ornamented with a bas-relief image of Sōmaskanda, i.e., Śiva and Pārvatī with the infant Skanda on her lap. On either side behind Śiva stand Brahma and Vishnu; 4°. Large rearing lions

support the pillars at the corners of the edifice, but, in stone temples, squatting lions support the pillars, and rearing lions support pilasters; 5°. The Sankhas and Chakras are shown with flames of fire; 6°. The temple-walls are adorned with special niches called Tiruvakshi. The Panamalai Tiruvakshi is formed of a single arch, the extremities of which emerge from the mouth of two 'makaras' (*i.e.*, fabulous animals with an elephant's trunk, and a foliage-tail) on which are mounted little 'gandharvas.'

In Rājasimha's time, three different scripts were used for Samskrt stone-inscriptions; 1°. The simple Grantha-Pallava used in plates and in the Panamalai inscription; 2°. The florid Grantha-Pallava which was devised fifty years earlier and remained unchanged as in the Kailāsanātha temple inscriptions at Kānchi; 3°. The northern Nāgarī-Pallava. The Atiraṇa-chandēśvara cave at Sāḷuvankuppam (two miles north of Māmallapura) has two identical inscriptions in Grantha and Nāgarī [S.I.I. Vol., 1, Nos. 21-2]. So a difference in the stage of evolution of two inscriptions is not in itself enough to indicate a difference in their ages.

NOTES ON THE PALLANS OF SOUTH INDIA

BY F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

(A paper read at the Mythic Society.)

THE Pallans are an important caste of Tamil-speaking agricultural serfs, numbering in the Madras Presidency nearly 900,000 souls, and distributed throughout the Tamil districts. They are described in Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. V, pp. 472 sq. and in Mr. F. R. Hemingway's *Gazetteer of Trichinopoly District*, pp. 128—30. Their organisation and customs bear a strong resemblance to those of the Konga Vellālers and the Nāttāns.

They must not be confounded with the Pallis (Vanniyars), who trace their descent from the ancient Pallavas, the paramount power in South India from the fifth to the eighth century A. D. The Pallis are a dominant land-holding caste in the more northerly Tamil districts, and, apart from the mere similarity of their name, there is no evidence of any blood connection between them and the Pallans.

The Pallans belong to the "Left Hand" castes, and are perpetually at feud with the Paraiyans (Pariahs). Their grade in the social hierarchy is very low, though they do not usually rank as Panchamas.

The subjoined notes are based on enquiries made in Salem District, where the Pallans number over 32,000. Their settlements occur chiefly in that portion of the District which was included in the ancient Kongu country, viz., the Taluks of Salem, Omalūr, and Tiruchengōdu. The Kongu country is approximately co-terminous with those parts of Salem and Coimbatore Districts which lie within the watershed of the Kāvēri (Cauvery).

The Pallans trace their origin to Dēvendra (Indra), king of the Dēvas. One legend is that the sweat of Dēvendra fell on a plant growing in water, from which arose a child, who became the ancestor of the Pallans.* The ancestor created by Dēvendra is named Vadivēlu Kudumban, and he is said to have married two wives.

By his first wife he had four sons—

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Dēvendra Pallan, | 3. Pāndiya Pallan, and |
| 2. Tāttaya-Nāttu Pallan, | 4. Kādaiya Pallan, |

and two daughters Kāmākshi and Sellamma who became their brothers' wives.

The descendants of Dēvendra Pallan are called Sōzhiya (Chola) Pallans

* *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 473.

and those of Tāṭṭaṭṭa-Nāṭṭu Pallan are called Chēra Pallans. The Pāndiya Pallans and Kādaiya Pallans are not to be found in Salem District.

By his second wife, who is said to have been a Dēva Dāsi, Vadivēlu Kudumban had ten sons and a daughter, from whom the junior branch of the caste is descended. The sons were—

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Kongu Pallan. | 6. Āndi Pallan. |
| 2. Vēṭṭai Pallan. | 7. Tambarakotti Pallan. |
| 3. Kalkatti Pallan. | 8. Tavalai-tinni Pallan. |
| 4. Isvara Pallan. | 9. Kuruni Pallan. |
| 5. Vanni Pallan. | 10. Kodaiyāl Pallan. |

The last two houses are said to have died out, but the remaining eight houses of the junior branch together with the four houses of the senior branch, became the ancestors of 12,000 Vamsas, or families, details of which are beyond the scope of this note.*

It is said that members of the senior branch are entitled to the full marriage ceremonial, while those of the junior branch have to be content with a modified ceremony, approximating to the form adopted at the remarriage of widows, under which they are not provided with a seat during the ceremony, are allowed no turmeric, garland, sandal, or *kunkumum*, and the bride must wear a white cloth instead of a silk one.

Each village has its headman who is called the *Palakan*; his office is hereditary. He is assisted by a "Minister" entitled "*Ilangāli*" and a servant known as *Odum-pillai*.† These three officers arrange for the settlement of party quarrels within their jurisdiction. Questions affecting morality are referred to the *Guru*, who comes to the village and gives his decision there. The Chief *Guru* for the Nāds in Salem District is the *Pallan-Swāmiyār* of Karumāpuram, a village seven miles east of Sankaridrug. He is called *Subbayyar* by Pallans, *Subbandi* by people of other castes. He possesses a title-deed written on brass, which purports to have been issued to Sirukudi-Tonthis-Kuzhanthai Ananthasāmiyar of Sattiyamangalam on Vaiyāsi 15th, Kaliyugam, 4555, Jaya year,‡ during the time of "Uttankarai-Narasinga Rayan, Tirumalai-Rayan-Anaigundi-Venkata-Rayan." Over and above the *Guru* of Karumāpuram, there is a Head *Guru* of Karai-kattu Vellalar caste at Mungipalaiyam in Coimbatore District.

* There is a proverb that to learn the varieties of paddy is difficult, and to master the subdivisions of the Pallans impossible. In connection with the senior branch, the names Mudichavikkum-Sōzhiyan, Kūzhukkāchi, Kummānai-Soshiyan, Anna-Pallan, Ashūga-Pallan, and Anni-Pallan are given, and Dr. Thurston (*Castes and Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 476, gives as endogamous sub-divisions Aiya, Amma, Anja, Atta, Mauganādu and Tondamān.

† Or *Odum-palli* as it is sometimes spelt.

‡ (Kaliyuga 4555) = 1453-4 A.D., and the year Jaya is nowhere near it. The plate must be spurious.

No less than twenty-four Nads are returned for the Konga Country. They are :—

- (1) Pūvāni Nad or Kil-karai (Morūr).
- (2) Paruttipalli Nad.
- (3) Élūr Nad.
- (4) Salem Nad.

(These four Nads, all of which lie east of Tiruchengōdu, use the title "Palakar".)

- (5) Punthurai Nad or Mel-karai (Sattiyamangalam).
- (6) Vadakarai Nad (Sankaridrug).
- (7) Kāngaya Nad (in Coimbatore).
- (8) Tenkarai Nad (Udamalpatti in Coimbatore).
- (9) Nadupatta Nad.
- (10) Kuruppa Nad (Erode).
- (11) Vanji Nad (Gōpisettipālaiyam in Coimbatore).
- (12) Kilankarai Nad (in Sattiyamangalam Taluk).
- (13) Tattaya Nad (Bhavani Taluk).
- (14) Anda Nad (Trichinopoly).
- (15) Vazhakka Nad (Tūsūr, Nāmakkal Taluk).

N.B.—In these eleven Nads the title *Pannādi* is used.

- (16) Vayūpuri Nad (Dhārāpuram).
- (17) Kavedakka Nad (Malabar Coast).
- (18) Velliyagiri Nad (Vellimalai).

N.B.—These three Nads use the title *Kudumban*.

- (19) Rāsipuram Nad.
- (20) Vālavandi Nad (Nāmakkal Taluk).
- (21) Araiya Nad (Paramati).
- (22) Aduvankarai Nad (Vadakarai-Āttūr).
- (23) Mannādi Nad (Nāmakkal) and
- (24) Sombūr Nad (Mohanūr).

N.B.—These six Nads, located mostly in Nāmakkal, use the title *Mūppan*.

There is a regular system of fines and fees. If A slippers B, A is fined Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ and B is fined 10 annas. If A strikes B with a broom, A is fined 4 annas and B is fined 2 annas; if the weapon of offence is a winnow, the fines are 6 annas for A and 2 annas for B. The fine of Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ is thus apportioned; half of it, i.e., (10 annas) goes to the *Aramanai* = "Palace" or Government, i.e., to the *Guru*; one-fourth (5 annas) towards feasting the villages; the *Ilangāli* and *Odumpillai* receive $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas each, the barber and dhoby get one anna each. Such petty assaults are dealt with by the *Palakan* and his assistants. Intimation of a breach of morality is carried to the *Guru*

by the *Odum-pillai*; the *Guru* summons the *Palakars* of the adjoining villages to attend in the village where the offence has been committed, and fixes the day for trial. A man who forgets himself with a woman of a lower caste is excommunicated. If the *liaison* is with a woman of higher caste, (a very rare occurrence), the *Guru* purifies him with *tirtam* and he is readmitted to caste on payment of a fine of Rs. 12. If a man misconducts himself with a married woman of the caste, it rests with the injured husband to report the fact, and he must, at the same time, undertake to feed his caste-men on the day of meeting. The male offender is fined Rs. 12 or, as an alternative punishment, the guilty woman is made to stand with each foot on a mortar and with a broom in her hands, and her lover is made to walk thrice between her legs; each time he passes, she has to beat him with the broom. The woman is also made to stand with a basket of sand on her head, while the *Odum-pillai* chastises her with tamarind twigs on the back of her thighs just above the knee. If, after all this, her husband is willing to receive her back, he may do so; otherwise, she may marry another man (but not her paramour), under the form of widow marriage. A man who seduces an unmarried girl is punished in a similar manner, but the fine is doubled (Rs. 24, of which Rs. 12 goes to the *Guru*, and the rest to a caste feast), and steps are at once taken to marry the girl, but she may not marry her lover. A woman may claim divorce before the *panchayat* on the ground of her husband's cruelty, and a husband may divorce his wife for disobedience, the fee being Rs. 2½, of which half goes to the "counter-petitioner" and half to the village menials.

Accused persons are allowed to prove their innocence by the ordeal of carrying an unbaked earthen pot full of water round the assembly; if successful, the accuser is convicted of perjury and fined Rs. 24. The ordinary form of ordeal is for the accused to go from the assembly to the village well, take a bath and return, the assembly meanwhile watches for omens while the accused goes and returns, and if any evil omen is noted, the accused is held guilty. If he wants a further trial he is made to walk round the assembly thrice, a *chembu* full of water is placed in the centre of the meeting over three large pieces of salt, and the accused has to cross over seven lines drawn upon the ground in front of the assembly. Charges of witchcraft are also tried by *panchāyat*, and conviction is followed by fine.

When a girl attains puberty, she must live for nine or eleven days in a shed of *kambu* stalks erected in front of her house by her maternal uncle. The shed is burnt down once in three days and a new one is erected; on the eleventh day the girl is readmitted to the house. The maternal uncle is entitled to a meal

in the girl's house for every time he erects a new shed. Sometimes, instead of a *kambu* stalk hut, an ordinary pen-hut (*ṣatti-gudisai*) is used, with straw spread under it; the straw is burnt once in three days, but not the *gudisai*. A similar procedure is repeated at the second monthly illness, but after that, it is sufficient for a woman to remain outside the house for five days. Purification after child-birth takes place on the eleventh day, and is performed by a Brahman *purōhit*. The *purōhit* does not, however, enter the village; he performs the *ṣunyāha-vāchanam* outside the village, reciting his *mantras* and blessing the *tīrtam* and the *tīrtam* is then carried in a brass pot to the house, and sprinkled with other hands. During pregnancy, women are not allowed to eat gingelly or millet (*tēnai*).

Marriage is both infant and adult. Betrothal is of the ordinary type. Marriages are arranged by the parents of the boy and the girl in consultation with the *Palakan* and the leading men of the village. The full *ṣariyam* is Rs. 7-10-0. Part of the *ṣariyam*, say Rs. 4 or 5, is tied in a saffron-dyed cloth, and presented to the bride's mother. The family feast (*ṣarupṣun-chōru*=dhāll and rice), clinches the bargain.

The first step in the wedding ceremonies is for the bridegroom's party, with the leading men of the village and the *Palakan*, *Ilangāli* and *Odum-pillai*, to cut the milk-post, which is of *ṣālai* or *vēmbu* and erect the marriage *pandal*. Betel leaves are tied to the milk-post.

The *arumaikkāri* in the meantime has to cook five *vallams* of rice in a new pot, to which pieces of turmeric are tied, and the *Ilangāli* or the *Odum-pillai* brings sand for the *mēdai* or *arasāni*, i.e., the dais round the milk-post.

Meanwhile, four men and a woman visit the potter, and get from him a large pot (*kudam*), three medium sized pots (*chattis*) and three small pots (*kalayams*) all earthenware, for which the potter is paid ten measures of rice, one measure of dhāll, one cocoanut, one bundle of betel leaf. These are taken to the house of the bridegroom's maternal uncle.

The marriage takes place at the bridegroom's house. The *pandal* is decorated by the dhoby with "Car-cloths" (*tēr-silai*) and, when all is ready, the pots are brought to the *pandal* from the maternal uncle's house.

It is the duty of the *Odum-pillai* to get two measures of rice pounded by unmarried girls, and have it cooked near the milk-post; *ṣongal* offerings are made to this, the ceremony being called *namai ṣongal*.

Meanwhile the bridegroom is shaved, the barber getting as his fee a *vellam* of rice, two annas, a cocoanut, etc.

The bridegroom then takes a bath and dons a new cloth, and his maternal uncle garlands him, smears him with sandal and ties a turban on

his head, a few rupees, the gift of the bridegroom's relatives, being tied up in the turban.

The bridegroom then takes some betel leaves in his hand, and the *Palakan* pours water over them, after which the bridegroom throws the leaves towards the four cardinal points.

Then the bridegroom is decorated with small cakes of flour, one on his head, one on each shoulder, two on each side of the body and one on each foot. These are removed by the maids who prepared the *pongal* above referred to, and thrown into a *chatti*.

The bridegroom next, assisted by the *arumaikkāri*, pounds a measure of paddy in a mortar with a pestle to which a new cloth is tied.

He is then led to the Pillaiyār (Vignēsvara) shrine, where a cocoanut is broken, after which he returns in procession to the *pandal*, and there thrice circumambulates the *arasāni*.

Next, he is touched by the *Palakan* with tamarind water on each knee, on each thigh, on each breast and on the head. This rite is repeated with rice.

The bridegroom then eats meal prepared by the *arumaikkāri*. He next starts for the bride's village, and is met by the bride's party at the Pillaiyār shrine. The *Palakan* of the bride's village brings with him a *chembu* of water, which he hands over to the *Palakan* from the bridegroom's village.

The bridegroom is then conducted to the guest-chamber set apart for him in the bride's house.

The dowry consists of seven bundles of betel leaves, three measures of areca-nut, seven pieces of turmeric, seven plantains, one cocoanut, seven gold beads for the *tāli*,* and the remainder of the *pariyam*.

These articles are put in a pot, the cocoanut and gold beads on the top; this is worshipped by all the people present, and the bridegroom then ties the beads around the bride's neck, the necklace being called *siru-tāli* or *little-tāli*.

Another visit is now paid by the bridegroom and his party to the Pillaiyār shrine, and the former takes his seat on a coir cot; *pān-supāri* is distributed; the *pān-supāri* that is given to the *Palākar* is called the "palanquin bearer's betel and nut," the cot having taken the place of the now obsolete palanquin.

The cot is now raised by four men with the bridegroom sitting on it, and the bride's brother is likewise brought from the bride's house on another coir cot to meet him: bridegroom and brother-in-law then exchange

* The tendency is to reduce the number of beads to five, or even three.

garlands, and the latter returns home. The bridegroom pays a fee of one *panam* (two annas) each to the barber and the *dhoby*, and the females of the party are given another *panam* for singing the bridal song.

The bridegroom is now carried back to the bride's house on the coir cot; on his arrival there, a pearl, a coral bead and turmeric water are passed thrice round his head. The cot is then put down, and the bridegroom remains seated on it. The bride's mother, her sister and other female relatives wash his feet with milk, after which the bridegroom enters the pandal and takes his seat on a plank near the *arasāni*; the bride's maternal uncle carries the bride thither and seats her on the bridegroom's right.

A second *tāli* (the *tāli* proper) is now tied, and the right hand of the bridegroom and the left hand of the bride are tied together with a red cloth; the bride is then carried by her maternal uncle, the bridegroom still holding her left hand, and she is taken into one of the rooms in the house where the *Palakan* unties their hands. This ends the marriage ceremony properly so called.

A feast follows and the female relatives of the bride amuse themselves by standing opposite the bridegroom, covering their faces with a plantain leaf, and holding out to him a dish of cooked rice, palmyra jaggery and a fowl's legs, which they ask him to partake of and snatch away as soon as he tries to.

On the following day bride and bridegroom are led to the bridegroom's house; there they have to pick out of a pot of water a silver ring, a conch shell and a small stone placed there by the *Palakan*.

On the third day the party returns to the bride's house and a feast is held.

On the fourth day, the bridegroom's party conduct the bridal couple to the bridegroom's house. The bride must touch before anything else a pot of milk, a pot of water, a salt pot, and a rice pot.

A feast of "the bride's hen and the bridegroom's cock" follows, the bride's party ranging themselves on one side, and the bridegroom's party on the other; the dish containing the fowl's flesh is placed between them, and each party tries to drag it over to its own side. After the feast the bride's party return to their village.

Widows are allowed to remarry. A widow marriage is almost devoid of ceremony; the *pariyam* is Rs. 2½; the bridegroom provides a new cloth for the bride and another for himself. There are no garlands, no flowers, no sandal, no *kunkumam* and the *Siru-tāli* is not tied.

Women are only allowed to wear flowers in their hair at their marriage, on which occasion they knot the hair on top of the head in the style *uchi-kudumi*. On other occasions they wear flowers in their *tāli*. Men are not

tattooed, but women are tattooed freely, on forearm, hands and feet, with the usual designs and with dots on forehead, temples, chin, fingers, cheek and between the breasts.

Their houses are sometimes circular, sometimes rectangular, and are made of bamboo, margosa, etc., and thatched with palm leaves, *kambu* stalks paddy straw or the stalks of sugar-cane. They may not build houses of *āyamaram*, which is reserved for temple construction. Before a house is begun to be built, a pole of *pālai* wood is stuck in the ground in a pit in which a pie piece has been placed. To the post is tied a piece of cloth dyed with saffron, and containing a pie piece and the "nine grains".

The dead are usually buried. Only the well-to-do are burnt. On the day of death a light is lit on the spot where the deceased died. The corpse is shaved and clad in a new cloth; the widow sits at its feet; a new thread is tied round her neck by any married woman in addition to her other *tālis*, and this thread she breaks and throws on the corpse. Widows wear no distinctive dress. The house of the deceased is purified by a Brahman.

Pallans are both Saivite and Vaishnavite, and it is said that the sects are exogamous, in other words, a boy of a Saivite family must marry a girl of a Vaishnavite family, and *vice versa*. The Pallans of Salem district are specially devoted to Kandaswami of Kalipatti, Tuesdays and Thursdays being the favourite days for worship. Their traditional god is Palani-āndavan. They also worship Māri-amman, Karuppannār, Pudavai-kāri, the Kannimār, Pēchāyi, Madurai-Vīran, Aiyānār, Pāppātti, Kuppāyi, Arasakumārār, Periya-Kandī-amman and other *Grama-Dēvatas*. Buffalo sacrifice is offered at Kuttampundi and Karumāpuram.

THE MYSORE ROYAL INSIGNIA

The following interesting note on the Mysore Coat-of-Arms has been kindly contributed by Mr. R. Narasimbachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., Director of Archaeology, Mysore :—

Arms—a *ganda-bherunda* or double-headed eagle.

The story of the bird runs as follows : When Vishnu became incarnate as Narasimha to destroy the demon Hiranyakasipu and rescue his devotee Prahlāda, his mad fury threatening the destruction of the whole world, Siva assumed the form of Sarabha, the terror of the lion : But Vishnu immediately took the form of *Ganda-bhērunda*, which is superior to Sarabha and lives on its flesh.

The bird as an emblem is known to occur for the first time in Hittite sculptures from Western Asia which are older than 1000 B.C. It is also found on an early ivory of the Geometric period from Sparta. Later on, however, it seems to be specially associated with the Scythians who appear to have introduced it at Taxila. The name of the bird occurs as a title of the Chalukyas, the Hoyasalas and the Vijayanagar kings. It was also the royal crest of the Telugu Kota Chiefs of Dhanyakataka (Guntur District) who ruled in the 12th and 13th centuries and were related by intermarriage to the Kakatiyas of Warangal. Among the Vijayanagar kings, Achyuta-Rāya (1530—1542) issued coins with the figure of the bird on the obverse. The bird is represented as holding an elephant in each beak and in each claw. The Mysore kings may have adopted it as a crest on the fall of Vijayanagar or after their acquisition of Seringapatam in about 1610. As is well known, the emblem was also adopted into the Imperial Arms of Russia and Germany.

Crest—a lion passant bearing in his mouth a buffalo's head.

The lion is the vehicle of Chamundi, the tutelary goddess of the rulers of Mysore, who destroyed the minotaur which gives its name to the country. When the goddess cut off the head, the demon rose out of the neck in human form, and the lion her vehicle, seized the head.

Supporters—Yalis or mythological beasts which figure extensively in Hindu temples in Southern India.

BOOKS, ETC., REVIEWED

The Lakshmidēvi Temple at Dodda Gaddavalli *

BY PRAKTANA-VIMAKSA-VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR

MR. R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THIS monograph is the third of the Mysore Archaeological series—"Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore." The first two dealt with the magnificent Hoysalan temples at Somnathpur and Belur built about the years 1268 and 1117 A.D. The subject matter of the book under review has the claim of being older than the Kesava temple at Belur by four years, though it does not vie with the latter in richness of detail.

Dodda Gaddavalli is about twelve miles from Hassan, and two miles from the Hassan-Belur road. The Lakshmidēvi temple is of a unique type being quadruple in form. The four cells form a single building in the centre of an enclosed court, measuring 118' 6" by 112' 9", three of them being grouped towards the south and the fourth being in the northern portion. The three southern shrines have a common *navaranga* or middle hall, which opens into a smaller *navaranga* attached to the northern shrine. Each of the cells is surmounted by a stone tower and the Hoysala crest, namely, a figure of Sala, the progenitor of the Hoysala family, stabbing a tiger.

Of the three shrines in the southern portion, the east cell enshrines Lakshmidēvi, the west a *linga* named Bhūtanātha, and the south (said to have been the shrine of Kesava originally) an image of Bhairava. The northern shrine is dedicated to Kālī.

The outer walls of all the cells have single or double pilasters surmounted by turrets with figures here and there. The niches in the walls, unlike those in other Hoysalan temples, bear inscriptions instead of figures. The turrets on the outer walls of the Lakshmidēvi and Vishnu (?) cells show finer work than those of the other shrines. The shrines are not constructed on a raised terrace as elsewhere, and ornamental friezes and rails are not to be found here.

Besides these four shrines, there is in the north-east of the enclosure, a detached small temple of Bhairava, also surmounted by a stone tower and the Hoysala crest. In the four corners of the enclosure also, there are four small neat shrines, similarly surmounted. We have thus in this temple a remarkable and pleasing group of nine beautiful towers with Hoysala crests, a feature not met with in any other Hoysala building in the State. Six of these towers are seen in the picture forming the frontispiece to this number of the Journal, reproduced through Mr. Narasimhachar's kindness.

* To be had of the Curator, Government Book Depôt, Bangalore City. Price Re. 1 or 2s.

The principal inscription of the temple informs us that the temple was built at the instance of a great merchant (Maha-vaḍḍavyavahāri) Kullahapa-Rāhuta and his wife Sahaja Devi, by an architect named Mallāja Māṇiyōja, in the reign of Vishnu-vardhana. This inscription, however, does not refer to the constituent shrines of the temple. Another inscription of 1162 A.D. also refers to the shrine of Mahalakshmi only. The first mention made of the Kālī and the Bhūtanātha shrines is in an inscription of 1194 A.D. and thenceforward the reference to the shrines of Lakshmi Devi, Kālī and Bhūtanātha is repeated in most inscriptions.

There are several interesting problems in respect of this temple which one would have liked to see developed and, if possible, solved in the monograph. It appears not improbable that the detached shrine of Bhairava is a later construction. But is this so and is such a conclusion warranted by any inscription or sculptural evidence? Again, is the Bhairava image in one of the main shrines really an interpolation as alleged in the monograph? Mr. Narasimhachar evidently bases his conclusion on, first, the tradition that the shrine originally contained an image of Kesava and, secondly, on the presence of "the Garuda emblem on the pedestal." Tradition, by itself, cannot count for much and as against the second ground we have to point out that the form of Bhairava, known as Gōvinda-Bhairava, has "on his side the goddess Vaishnavī-Sakti and his vehicle is the bird Garuda," that is, the same as Vishnu's. (*Vide* page 151 of Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastri's "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses)."

The third problem is whether the circumstance that the cells now enshrining Lakshmidēvi and Bhairava show finer work than the rest does not point to the conclusion that they were the only shrines built first and that the rest were later additions. The omission of any reference to the other shrines in the first inscription recording the construction of the temple and in the inscriptions of the next eighty years would appear to support such a contention.

The temple appears to constitute a distinct landmark in the development of Hoysalan architecture. It owes its origin to a merchant who probably came to the Hoysalan court from Kolhapur judging from his anxiety to give the village the name of Abhinava Kollāpura or the modern Kolhapur, a name, however, that has not stuck to it. This fact may not be without its own significance, particularly as all older structures of the Hoysalan school are to be found north of Hassan.

One would like also that the history of the architect of this temple, Mallōja Māṇiyōja should be further investigated with a view to determine the part, if any, he played in the construction of the Belur temple and in the development of later Hoysalan art.

We cannot conclude this review, without conveying our thanks to Mr. Narasimhachar for bringing to light this further landmark of Mysore art and without expressing our admiration for the untiring enthusiasm which has produced this beautifully illustrated and interesting monograph.

A. V. R.

Hyderabad Archæological Report, 1917-18.

THOUGH the Annual Report of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions has been late in coming, it is found to have been worth waiting for. The Hyderabad Archæological Department is one of the youngest in India, but from the start, it has exhibited vigorous life and for the year 1917-18 (Fasli 1327), its energetic Superintendent, Mr. Yazdani, has a very creditable record of achievement to show. The Superintendent inspected several places of interest, such as Medak fort, Dichpalli Vaishnavite temple and Biloli mosque and arranged for their conservation. Naganatha temple at Aundha, Parbhani District, "the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Chalukyan or the mediæval Deccan (Hoysala is the term, we prefer) architecture" received further attention. This temple "is, in its structural and decorative features, almost a replica of the renowned temple at Halebid (Mysore State) and being an important place of pilgrimage, it is still in a perfect state of repair". We learn further that among interesting representations on the walls of this temple are "a figure, wearing a turban, similar to that of a soldier of the Indian Army of to-day", and "a sculpture of Siva, wearing a curious head-gear resembling an old Roman or Greek helmet such as is represented on Bactrian coins" prototypes of which figures, we remember having seen at Halebid also. We hope, His Exalted Highness' Government will publish an illustrated monograph of this highly interesting temple, on the lines of the monographs issued by the Mysore Archæological Department on Sonnathpur and Belur temples of the same school of architecture.

The outstanding feature of the year's activities, however, lies in the work of rescue and cleaning successfully done to the Ajanta frescoes, for which the distinguished French Savant M. Foucher deservedly praises the Government as "doing even more than their duty for this great inheritance of old Buddhist India." We are interested to learn further that "His Exalted Highness' Government have authorised Sir John Marshall to bring out an expert from Italy to examine the paintings and to report on the methods to be adopted to preserve the frescoes from further decay," and that "it is also contemplated to have them reproduced by the three-colour process."

The Superintendent has discovered also two caves at Māhur in the Ādilābād District. Owing to the neglect of centuries the caves are reported to be much silted up, but excavations have been started with commendable energy. Some minor excavations of cromlechs, the publication of two epigraphical publications, which we are separately noticing, and the editing of the Hyderabad Archæological Society's Journal and of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, were among the other activities of the busy year 1917-18.

A. V. R.,

The Indian Antiquary.

(October 1919.)

"EPISODES of Piracy in the Eastern Seas, 1519 to 1851" by Mr. S. Charles Hill gives us a vivid insight into the atrocities committed by both Asiatics and Europeans, on the colonies of each other, as occasion favoured them. The exploits of the renegade Covinga, who managed to become the leader of a thousand Chinese cut-throats intent upon expelling the Dutch from the eastern seas, form a very discreditable chapter in the history of civilisation. In a way, one gets a cue to explain the maritime regulations of the Asiatics from the following excerpt from Mr. Hill's article:—"..... and the petty Indian Chiefs claimed an immemorial right to issue passes to all ships which sailed by their shores and to punish, by forfeiture of goods and cargo, refusal or neglect to purchase these passes, for which indeed they claimed but a paltry price. The enforcement of this claim, and the further claim to seize the cargoes of all wrecks, European traders considered to be piracy, and resisted whenever they were able, *whilst the local Governments of the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese tried to force native Indian vessels to carry passes which they themselves issued. It was a pretty game, but not one to be commended.*" (Italics are ours.) Mr. R. C. Mazumdar of Calcutta is again tilting at Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, over the latter's latest reading of the latest version of the famous Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela. Seeing that the *facsimile* of this reading remains yet unpublished, we would do well to take the speculations of Mr. Mazumdar based on the first *facsimile*, *cum grano salis*. Mon. Jules Bloch the famous Tamil philologist, is responsible for a very interesting note on "the intervocalic consonants in Tamil." His contention is that the Tamil script (he evidently means the Pallava-Grantha script) at the time it was borrowed by the Dravidians from the North, had no intervocalic sonants but only surds as is evidenced by the few examples of the kind quoted in Kumarila Bhatta's *Tantravarthika* of the seventh century A.D. It must have developed its sonants only subsequent to this date. It is a very technical question, and we can only say here that the writer has not cited enough data to justify conclusions so dogmatic.

K. R.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

(December 1919).

THE December number of this Journal which has won a high place in the field of Oriental research contains many interesting and valuable articles. Three articles relate to the Saisunaka statues on which a good deal of controversy is now raging both in Europe and in India. The subject is really important; for, as Mahā Mahōpādhyāya Haraprasāda Sastri rightly observes, the acceptance of Mr. Jayas-

wal's theory will knock down "the prevailing notion that Indian art derived its inspiration from Persia."

The sidelights thrown on the dresses of the time, and the deductions drawn from the *Prathima Nataka* of Bhasa which are found in Sastri's article afford interesting and instructive reading. The opening article "Secret messages and symbols used in India," by W. Crooke, C.I.E., is—to quote the words of the writer—"of considerable interest as a contribution to the study of Oriental symbolism, and it deserves the attention of anthropologists working in India....." Students of *Indian Coinage* will be very much interested in the second article "An examination of fifty-eight silver punch marked coins found at Gorho Ghat" by E. H. C. Walsh. Mahā Mahōpādya Haraprasāda Sastri's article on "The Contributions of Bengal to Hindu Civilization" is continued in this number. One other article which may interest our readers is "Birth, Childhood, and Puberty and Death customs of the Pabri-Bhaiyas" by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. We are informed that "it is only after four months from the birth of a son and five months from the birth of a daughter that the final purification takes place." Another curious custom which we notice is that "a child born with one or more teeth is believed to bring ill-luck to its parents, and, it is said, is generally suffocated and thrown into a stream." The other articles in the journal equally interest us; but space forbids us even from cursorily touching upon them.

K. R.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(For October 1919.)

THE Journal opens with an interesting article on "The Aryan invasion of Northern India: An essay in ethnology and history" by James Kennedy. The essay consists of two parts. In the first, the writer deals with "the relation of the Indian Āryas to their Iranian cousins, and to the Dravidians among whom the Āryas settled;" and in the second he tries to trace "the various stages in the occupation of the Punjab and of Hindustan," and to show "how the division between the Indo-Aryans and Aryo-Dravidians arose." It is also proposed by him to say something of the new society to which the admixture of Aryan and Dravidian gave birth in the next number.

The treatment of the subject is so lucid that even those who possess no scholarship can easily understand and appreciate it. The essay is to be continued and we therefore reserve further remarks. We are however tempted to state that some points in the essay will not be wholly acceptable to Indian scholars. For instance, Mr. Kennedy says, "*Varna* or colour was the earlier word for the distinctions of caste." The theory that *Varna* meant colour is already abandoned. The distinctions of caste arose among the Aryans themselves among whom there was no question of colour. They arose more on account of the professions which the Indo-Aryans held at the time, and it is now generally admitted that the term *Varna* was derived

from the root "च=to choose." Again, Mr. Kennedy is not willing to place the Indian chronology before B.C. 1800. Scholars are not wanting who hold extreme opinions on either side but we venture to state that truth lies always in the middle. We commend to our readers an article on this subject in the "Indian Architecture" for October 1919 wherein the antiquity of the Indo-Aryans is traced to 6000 B.C. We notice one other point also which is rather debatable. There is a strong opinion among scholars that the Dravidians were indigenous to India while Mr. Kennedy seems to favour another equally strong opinion that they were not the earliest settlers in the country. The Australian affinities of the Dravidians and Sclater's hypothesis of a submerged continent of Lemuria extending from the Madagascar to the Malay Archipelago, and linking India with Africa on one side and with Australia on the other and allied theories will, we hope, be thoroughly analysed in the future issues of the J.R.A.S.

The other valuable articles in the journal are :—"Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian prayer" by S. Langdon, Ph.D.; "On the Japanese Sotoba, or Elemental Stūpa" by James Troup and "The Legend of the Divine Lovers: Enlil and Ninlil" by Theophilus G. Pinches. Besides these there are five other miscellaneous communications of which "Sathyaputra of the Asoka Edicts" and "Ethnology of the Philippines" may prove interesting to Indians. The notices of books are, as usual, very interesting. The notes of the half year appended to the journal afford a valuable study.

V. S.

Ararat

(November and December 1919.)

THE article on "The Ottoman Caliphate" by C. H. Nallino which is concluded in this number is of topical interest. We are not concerned with the *imperium in imperio* of the Turkish courts; nor are we concerned with current politics relating to Turkey. The genesis of the question of the Caliphate does, however, concern us. Students of Islam must be aware that the Moslems—whether they live under the flag of their own Potentate or whether they live under a foreign ægis—look to the Sultan for their spiritual welfare. The Caliph or "The Commander of the Faithful" is the Pontiff and Padsha of the Moslem world. When, by whom, and how was this recognised? As Mr. Nallino states, "No independent Muhammadan prince in Arabia, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, etc., has ever applied, or does ever apply, to the Sultan of Constantinople to legalise his own sovereignty through investiture"; nor is he the descendant of the tribe of Koreish to which Muhammad belonged. The plea that, when Salim I conquered Egypt in 1517, the right to the Caliphate was wrung from an Abbasid Caliph is not accepted by the writer. The appearance of the Sultan of Constantinople as Caliph, for the first time in the treaty of 1774 with Russia, and the open declaration by his own Moslem subjects only in the constitution of 1876, throw doubts on its validity

The effective possession of the holy places conferring a right to the Caliphate is also questioned by Mr. Nallino who characterises this as "mixing the cause with the effect." In his opinion, "He who is recognised as Caliph by the community of Islam becomes, *ipso jure*, lord of the holy places." The revival of the Caliphate is considered to be the outcome of ignorance displayed by European Governments. We studiously refrain from the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Nallino which throw doubts on the reasonableness of our Muhammadan brethren to press for the preservation of the Sultan's integrity. We have, however, to say that the present Moslem attitude finds parallel in other religions and in history. The attitude of Hindus in the early and mediæval periods towards the Rajputs and other princes who championed the cause of Hinduism and thereby got recognition of race and titles, does not show any rigid religious sanctity. The conventional recognition of some of the zealous Crusaders who mixed up politics with religion is another point worth remembering. The assumption of spiritual titles by Henry VIII, even after his separation from Rome, which is continued by his successors resembles, in certain respects, the assumption of the Caliphate by the Sultan of Turkey. In all these cases, it is the *sentiment* that matters. We can therefore find nothing wrong in the recognition of this right to Caliphate of Turkish Sultans, even if it be proved that the claim is one of recent times.

K. R.

A Monograph on Mirabai, the Saint of Mewad*

BY S. S. MEHTA, ESQ., BOMBAY.

THIS book is the first of the "Dorab J. Saklatwalla Memorial Series" instituted by Mr. Jamshedji Eduljee Saklatwalla, of Bombay, in memory of his son Dorab. Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla is one of our active members in the *moffusil*. We thank him for presenting our library with a copy of this booklet.

The work is a well-finished life sketch of a famous Rajput lady of the sixteenth century, who having married into the Royal Sessodia House, lost her husband early, and thereafter devoted herself entirely to the worship of God. Her ecstatic communion in the company of Sadhus and Gossains in her youth caused a scandal throughout the land, and her brother-in-law, tradition says, had her poisoned. During her short life, however, she was able to leave to posterity hundreds of most moving hymns to Shri Krishna, all composed in the choicest Guzerati. The work is to be welcomed for the light it throws incidentally on the history of Rajputana in the exciting times of Babar and his descendants. We notice in it many printer's mistakes, and if the work reaches a second edition, we hope the printing will be free from these blemishes.

K.R.

* To be had of the Author at Bhatwadi, Girgaon, Bombay; Price, Rs. 1-8-0.

Annals of the Bhandharkar Institute, 1918-19.

[Vol. I, part I, Poona.]

IN the Editorial Notes of the above number, occurs the following :—" We are glad to send out into the world of Oriental Scholars the first number of the Annals of the Bhandharkar Institute and hope that it will meet their approval. We invite from them and from Oriental Institutions all over the world, suggestions, criticisms and contributions, which will be most heartily welcome."

It has been decided by the Council of the Institute that, to start with, each volume should consist of only two parts to be issued in July and December of each year. The number before us is the first part of the first volume, and, owing to unforeseen difficulties explained by the Editors, it has been just issued. The part for December last is also promised at an early date.

Being the first number, a large part is naturally taken up with the reports of various committees, details of management, existing and expected resources, etc., of the Institute. In spite of this however there are six full dress articles from the pen of well-known scholars, excluding the Inaugural Address of the revered Dr. Bhandharkar, than whom there is no greater Orientalist living. Two out of the six are papers contributed by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar of the Western Circle of Archaeology, who has more than once favoured our Journal with his scholarly writings. In his first paper on "the Home of the so-called Andhra kings," Dr. Sukthankar attempts to prove how Orientalists are mistaken in identifying the Satavahanas with the Andhras of the Puranas, how the latter themselves are incorrect in calling these kings Andhras in one place and Andhrabhrtyas in another, how the recent discovery of a copper plate at Hira-Hadagalli and of an inscription cut on the face of a rock at Myakadoni, both in the Bellary District, supplies two place names *Satahani-rattha*, and *Satahani-hara*, and how, therefore, the Satavahanas of history must have originally hailed from the modern Bellary District extending west right up to the Sahayadi range, from which habitat they subsequently extended their conquests north and south of the Narmada. This summary does but poor justice to the wealth and variety of arguments brought to bear on the thesis by the learned scholar. To us of the Karnataka country the foregoing, if established, would be a source of peculiar pleasure inasmuch as the great Satavahanas who for over four centuries extended their imperial sway across the continent would then be proved to have been Karnataka sovereigns like the Kadambas, the Rashtrakutas and the Gangas.

The other article by Dr. Sukthankar is on the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus, and he seeks to prove that by correcting the accepted reading here and there, the sense of the whole is made plainer, and also that it would then be seen that the construction is neither Sanskritic nor Prakritic, but follows closely the rules of the Greek grammar.

The other articles are by acknowledged researchers like R. D. Banerji, Prof. V. K. Rajwade, and K. B. Pathak.

In the Report is found very interesting reading concerning the origin of the Institute, and the persistent labours of a handful of devoted Indians to establish in Western India a great seat of research work. Their perseverance has brought with it splendid results and to-day the Institute has a premises of its own, the magnificent library of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and the Government MSS. Library both of which have been handed over to its charge, while Government have also transferred to the Institute the management of the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit series together with a combined grant of Rs. 15,000 per annum.

We wish the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute an ever increasing career of usefulness.

K.R.

Inscriptions at Palampet, Uparpalli and Pakhal in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.*

(EDITED BY DR. L. D. BARNETT.)

THE three inscriptions published in these monographs of the Hyderabad Archaeological Series belong to the reign of Kākatiya Ganapati Deva (1199—1260 A.D.) during whose long sway the Kākatiya kingdom appears to have considerably expanded. The inscription at Pālampet bears date corresponding to the 31 March 1213 A.D. and that at Uparpalli 23 January 1236 A.D. The Pākhal inscription is not dated but refers to the king as having reigned for a long time and is ascribed by Dr. Barnett to about 1245 A. D.

The first two inscriptions refer to the consecration and endowment of temples while the third refers principally to the construction of the Pākhal lake and incidentally to the construction of a temple and the founding of a city near it. The lake constructed by Jagadāla Mummadi, a warrior and statesman in the service of Ganapati Deva exists to this day and is described as follows in the Hyderabad Gazetteer:—"The Pākhal lake has been formed by throwing a dam, 2,000 yards long, across the Pākhal river, between two low head lands. The lake is 8,000 yards long by 6,000 broad and when full covers an area of 13 square miles."

The inscriptions confirm in the main the evidence so far gathered elsewhere as regards Ganapati Deva's reign. Their special features of interest are the references to a certain grave crisis in the fortunes of the dynasty just before the commencement of Ganapati Deva's reign and to the conquest of Kānchi (Conjeevaram) by one of his ancestors (Prōla I) in the Pālampet inscription, the references to a defeat of the Gajapati king (?) of Orissa at Bokkera, and the dedication of lamps by one of Ganapati Deva's generals to the Bhimesvara temple at Dākshārāma in Ramchandrapuram Taluk, Gōdāvari District, Madras Presidency, in the Upar-

* Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 3—Rs. 2 and No. 4—Rs. 1.

palli inscription, and the reference to Kalikāla Chola as one of the ancestors of Ganapati Deva in the Pākhāl inscription.

As regards the first of these matters, we have collateral evidence of such a crisis in the claim of the Yādava king Jaituga* (1191—1210 A.D.) to his having "overcome Rudra, 'lord of the Tailangas' and to have liberated from prison a prince of that dynasty called Ganapati, whom he raised to be 'Lord of the Andhra country'" and also in a traditional account of Kākatiya history given in Mr. H. Morris' Godavari District Manual (1878) from which we extract the following:—"Kākatiya Prolaya was accidentally slain by his eldest son, who succeeded him, but was dethroned and put to death by his uncle, Mahadeva. Mahadeva for some time ruled in conjunction with his nephew, Ganapati Deva, another son of Kākatiya Prolaya; but on his being slain in battle, Kākatiya Pratāpa Ganapati Rudra Dēva became the sole occupant of the throne and of the regāal power." The existence of such a crisis is indicated also by the varying accounts given in these inscriptions themselves of who the immediate predecessor of Ganapatideva was. The Uparpalli inscription refers to Ganapati Deva as Rudra's son, but the Pākhāl one says he was the son and successor of Mahadeva, the brother of Rudra. Copperplate No. 17 (A.D. 1254-55) published in the Nellore Inscriptions edited by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty appears also to suggest that Ganapati Deva was Mahadeva's son, an inference supported also by an Inscription of Śāka 1170 (1248 A.D.) in Rajahmundry† and other Madras Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency.‡

The claim of the conquest of Kanchi in the reign of Prola I (?) has yet to be corroborated but the victory at Bhokkera is not improbable. The reference to Dākshārāma dedication is valuable as tending to establish the theory that Ganapatideva had extended his way to the Godavari District. This reference read with the inscriptions forthcoming in Rajahmundry and Ramachandrapuram Taluks of that District may be said to dispel the doubt raised by Mr. Hemingway in his Godavari District Gazetteer (1907), about Ganapatideva's sovereignty over that district, on the ground among others that "an inscription at Dākshārāmam mentions Ganapati but it is fragmentary and undated and may belong to the time of his successor."

The only other reference of any significance is that about Karikāla Chola. A similar reference is made also in another record mentioned in Rao Saheb Krishna Sastry's Annual Report on Epigraphy 1916-17, page 122. Its final acceptance, however, will involve one of two assumptions, namely, either that the Kākatiyas were a branch of the northern dynasty of Chōlas among whose records Karikāla or Kalikāla Chola largely figures, or that they were connected with that dynasty by marriage and that Ganapati Deva traced his descent to Kalikāla Chola, in order to capture the imagination of his subjects in the Chola dominions which he conquered in the latter part of his reign.

* Page 341, Imperial Gazetteer of India (New Edition), Vol. II.

† No. 72 in Madras Inscriptions, Vol. II, page 722, by V. Rangacharya.

‡ Mr. Trivedi's introduction to Pratāparudra Yasōbhūshanam (Bombay Sanskrit and Prākṛit Series, LXV).

The inscriptions are mutually contradictory in giving the genealogy of Recherla Rudra, the protagonist of the Pālampet inscription, who is said to have helped in tiding over the grave crisis in Kākatiya fortunes.

Another feature worthy of note in the Pālampet inscription is the entry of another gift, after the deed is closed with the usual imprecatory verses. It is a question, therefore, whether the last few lines in it may not be a later interpolation.

Both the monographs are highly interesting and Dr. Barnett deserves the best thanks of Orientalists for his learned and instructive notes. We congratulate also H.E.H. the Nizam's Government on the publication of these monographs and we hope that ere long the numerous inscriptions that the Hyderabad Gazetteer refers to as existing in Warangal and Karimnagar districts will be made available for the public in similarly accessible and assimilable form.

A.V.R.

Women's Views on Women's Education.

BY MISS M. L. BUTLER, PRINCIPAL.

London Mission Girls' High School, Bangalore ; Price Re. 1.

A state of affairs where the husband is entirely at home with a Plato, a Newton, and a Sankara, while his wife stands bewildered at the bustle attendant on a Municipal election at her very doors, and questions her husband what it is all about,—a state of affairs like this should no longer continue. India has suffered vastly more by this *post-Puranic* exclusion of women from current knowledge than by any alien conquest or domination. Our own Dowager-Maharani, C. I., H. H. the Ruler of Bhopal, Mrs. Sarojini of Hyderabad, Mrs. Ranade and Mrs. Karve of Poona, all these types of noble Indian womanhood give the lie direct to the cry of the small-souled 'doxists,' that Indian traditions require a woman to be but the cook and wet-nurse of a household.

These heroines carry at their back traditions of womanly genius, and of womanly heroism, extending up to the dim days when a Draupadi non-plussed a brilliant assembly of statesmen and warriors with her questions on equity, when a Maitreyi and a Gargi defied semi-divine Yogis to explain adequately life and death, and when a Savitri compelled Destiny itself to go back on its decrees.

The hackneyed citation of a double-bullock cart, which could proceed smoothly on its way only when both the bullocks are of equal strength and of equal alacrity—seems to be totally lost sight of in our current debates about women's education.

Miss Butler's synopsis under review, in spite of its preponderance of masculine opinion, may fairly be taken as representing the convictions of most of the English educated Indian women as to the lines on which their long pending emancipation should be worked out.

Only one word of caution ere I close. A rose does its duty best as a rose, when, fighting for air, sunshine and good manure, it blossoms at its best ; not when the object of the fight is metamorphosis into a moustache.

K.R.

Ancient History of the Deccan.

BY DR. G. JOUVEAN-DUBREUIL,

Doctor of the University of Paris, and Professor, Colonial College, Pondicherry.

[Sold by the Author, 8, Dumas Street, Pondicherry, Price Rs. 3].

ONE can safely say that of the ever-increasing number of enthusiastic research scholars of Indian History none has come into prominence in so short a time as four to five years, by first rate and most original work, as Dr. Dubreuil, of the Colonial College, Pondicherry.

The book under review distinctly supplies a want and unlike other books, which for all their valuable information culled from various sources are wanting in unity of design and coherence, gives a wealth of details so as to help one to construct a truer history of Ancient Deccan from the time of Asoka the great to that of Pulikesin II. It is just this period which is shrouded in obscurity.

Even now many feel that Deccan which divides India into two was not even an eighth as civilized in those ancient times as the fertile regions of the Indus and the Ganges. But proofs in plenty are forthcoming to dispel this illusion of its benightedness and the thanks of the people of the Peninsula should in large measure go to the learned French historian, who never fails to call our attention to the glorious doings of Deccan in those spacious times to which his history relates.

We feel much interested in what Dr. Dubreuil has to say about the Pallavas of whom many strange theories are being propounded only to be dismissed.

Though we admire the ingenuity of the Doctor for stringing certain facts together and deducing therefrom a theory calculated to throw light on the origin and spread of the Pallavas, we are forced to believe with the late Dr. V. A. Smith that mystery yet veils their origin and affinities. It is all true that the Pallavas were contemporaneous with the Nagas, and that one of the Pallava chiefs married a Naga princess and thus laid the foundation for the powerful Pallava power, after her people fell from their political eminence. But we would like to know who these Pallavas were, wherefrom they came, or, on the other hand, how far they were indigenous to India. In our opinion, they were as foreign to Northern India, as they were to the South, where their power was more pronouncedly felt and, though they may not have had a Parthian origin, they were yet foreign to the soil. The Doctor is forced to admit after all that the history of the Deccan in the third century is not well understood, and that there are still dark corners which require to be illuminated.

With a directness peculiarly his own, the Doctor in each chapter takes up current opinions one after another and demolishes them with apt reasoning; one chapter in the whole book, that on the *Expedition of Samudra Gupta* is, an excellent example of the method he pursues. As many as six points are taken to be

thrown out as heresies in research, and this, in the matter of a great conqueror of whom much has been said and believed.

In the chapter on the Brihatpalāyanās, certain important observations are made for the first time. Leaving the fact that the civilization of Indo-China is of Indian origin, and that it came almost exclusively from the Deccan, this ardent student of history maintains that such an influence as this flowed into Indo-China from a special port of the Deccan. What this port is has been reserved for the Professor to discover. By a series of suggestions he proves that the town Koddura was variously named Guduru (Col. Yate) and Kudura (Kondamudi plates), and that Kudura existed at the time of Ptolemy and that the place whence ships started for Indo-China is found near Koddura, a little to the north on the coast, not far from the mouth of the Godavari. *Inter alia*, the Professor has been able to identify certain places named by Ptolemy which have defied identification so far.

We have given but a bare outline of the many arresting discoveries brought to light in the pages of the book. Though the letter press leaves nothing to be desired together with the general get-up, yet we would prefer its monotony being broken, by varied fonts to indicate important persons and places.

K.D.

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1919.

[*Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore.*]

THIS Report was signed and sent by the Director to the Government Press on 5th September, 1919. It is published at the end of March, 1920, that is, *after six months*. We note, in this connection, the hint conveyed to the Superintendent of the Government Press, in the last para of the Government's review thereon, that in future, these Reports should not occupy such a long time to print and publish.

Turning to the Report itself we find that the most noticeable features in it are, (1) the discovery of two sites of ancient cities in the Bangalore District; (2) the sculptures in the Dharmēswara temple at Koṇḍarhalli (para 22) illustrating some episodes of the Mahabharata which claim partial credence; (3) the probability that Chandrabhūshana Odeyar, mentioned in an inscription, Hoskote 129, dated 1377 [pp. 34] is identical with Kriyāśakti, the reputed *Guru* of Harihara II of Vijayanagar; (4) the finding of an inscription at Rāmpura, near Kadaba in Tumkur District, which states that it was decided at a meeting of the villagers that no corpse should be buried within an arrow-shot of a well that had been newly built, and that if this injunction was contravened, transgressors should be outcastes both in this world and in the next; (5) the fact that a ruined Chennakesava temple within the fort of Sarjapur, shows traces to-day of a sculptural

structure having been raised over it by a Muhammadan Jaghirdar "to enshrine a hair of Mahomad's moustache," while, "the western portion adorned by several pillars is used as a latrine by the residents in the neighbourhood"; (6) the existence, to-day, of a medieval Panchama Mutt at Sarjapur, named after Sāmbhappā, a pious Panchama devotee, who has many disciples among non-Pānchamas also in several parts of the State; (7) an interesting tradition about Gubbi—an important business centre in the Tumkur District—connecting it with a great Vira-Saiva teacher, Amaragūṇḍa Mallikārjuna, colleague of Basava in reviving Virasaivism during the thirteenth century A.D.; (8) the occurrence in about 60 per cent of the pages of the Report of minute descriptions of the iconography of Village Goddesses, which, if studied carefully, lead one to the inference that ancient Deccan, including Karnātā and Further South, is connected from ages past, either ethnically or culturally, with the long extinct Mediterranean races, with whom Ancient Egypt also had much in common; (9) the occurrence on one of the pillars of the *navaranga* of a temple on the heights of Hutri-durga in Kunigal Taluk, of a "rare figure" of Matsya-Hanumān, whose exploits are recorded in the apocryphal Mairāvāna-purāṇa; (10) the discovery of inscriptions on some of the many votive bells extant in the temple of Siddhalingēsvara at Eḍeyūr in the above Taluk, which goes to show that they were presents "from a Muhammadan Amildar during Tipu's rule"; (11) and, lastly, accurate descriptions of numerous *Mastikals* or *Virakkals* in all the three districts concerned (*viz.*, Bangalore, Tumkur, and Mysore) which tend to strengthen an Indian in his belief that his forbears till about seven or eight centuries ago, cared more for truth and loyalty, than for material prosperity purchased at the cost of one's manhood and sense of duty.

We have tried our best to indicate, however briefly, the nature of the sumptuous dishes which Mr. R. Narasimhachar, as is usual with him, has placed this year, before eager scholars of the world. The more they eat the more hungry they feel. Higher praise than this, it is not in our competence to bestow.

We wish to close this perfunctory review with a few words which are in effect an appeal to the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore. Year after year, Mr. Āchār has been dunning the authorities to pay heed "to the urgent necessity for making proper arrangements for the preservation of all the structures in the State, for the early introduction of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act"—[of British India].

That an appeal like this, made to a *national* Government, by one of the foremost of Indian scholars, should be consistently ignored by this Government, is a matter for surprise—the more so, as the hereditary head of the State at present, is one of the most illustrious guardians of Indo-Aryan culture and civilisation.

K.R:

BOOKS ON INDIAN HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY, RELIGION, Etc.

History of Aryan Rule in India from the earliest times to the death of Akbar, by E. B. HAVALL, illustrated, 15s. Rs. 9—6—0, *Harrap*.

Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, 21s. net, Rs. 13—2—0, *Harrap*.

Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists, by SISTER NIVEDITA and ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, 12s. 6d. net, Rs. 7—13—0, *Harrap*.

Stories of Indian Gods and Heroes, by W. D. MONROE, illustrated in Colour, 6s. net, Rs. 3—12—0, *Harrap*.

HANDBOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS, EDITED BY MORRIS JASTROW.

The Religions of India, by E. W. HOPKINS, 11/6 n, Rs. 7—3—0, *Ginn*.

The Religion of the Hebrews, by J. P. PETERS, 15/n, Rs. 9—6—0, *Ginn*.

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ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

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MUDALIAR

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(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

It may not be generally known that the term Mudaliar does not connote a caste in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, it is merely an honorific appellation added on by some of the Dravidians, mostly known also as Vellalas. The original home of the Dravidian still remains a mystery. But, endeavours are not lacking to ascertain the truth. Every effort made serves to take us nearer the goal, even if the goal be not attained in the near future. A number of terms, such as Dravidian, Tamilian, Tuluva-Vellalan, Kar-Alan, Kashi-Kavalan, Villapetta-Nattan, Agamvodayavan, Karai-Kattan, and so on are applied to this community which has cultivated and maintained a civilisation of its own. These terms are not only current now, but are found also in the Tamil literature of the past. A short explanation of these terms at the outset will be helpful.

The meaning of the word Dravida is doubtful. Dravida is sometimes used as the name of a tract of country, lying between the Vindhyas and Cape Comorin, *viz.*, Southern India.

The term Dravida appears to have thence been used for the race that resided in this country. As the word Dravida is derived from Sanskrit, Dru means to run, the term probably indicates a place, to which a particular race

has run for retreat having been driven by a stronger body, usurping the land.

The word Tamilian is said by some to come from the root Tami, which means lonely, indicating perhaps one speaking a lonely language; but other authorities say that Tamir means sweet, and hence a sweet language.

Mr. Kanakasabhai says that the word Tamil appears to be an abbreviation of the word Tamalitti which is the form in the Pali language of the name Tamralipti, a great seaport at the mouth of the Ganges, from which they had emigrated. This seaport is now known as Tamluk, and lies on the bay of Rupnarian river, 35 miles south-west of Calcutta. A mention of it is also made in the Vishnupuranam.

Tuluva-Vellalan is a Vellalan of the Tulu country, South Canara. The word Vellalan takes its derivation from Vellam (means a flood) and Alan (means the ruler), indicating one that commands the flood, and hence a cultivator. Similarly, the word Vellamai means cultivation. Some authorities connect the term Vellala with the historic Bellala dynasties of the Carnatic Country.

The word Kar-Alan takes its derivation from Kar (means cloud) and Alan the ruler. This title is expressive of the skill of the man in controlling the flood and storing water for agricultural purposes.

The derivation of the word Vilpetta-Nāttan is from Vil a bow and Nādu a country, meaning a country archer.

Similarly, the word Kashi-Kavalan takes its derivation from Kashi which means a regiment and Kavalan one that supervises it, hence a commander of regiment. These two terms appear to be relics of the days when Mudaliars commanded the armies of the Pandya, the Chola and Chera kings.

Again the term Agam-Vodayavan takes its derivation from the word Agam (means land) and Vodayavan (owner), hence it means a possessor of land.

The term Karai-Kattan takes its derivation from Kar means cloud and Kattan one that saves it, hence it means one that protected it. The Mythological origin of the name is that, in the reign of Ugra Pandya, there was a terrible famine for 12 years. The king, provoked at this, imprisoned all the clouds for their neglect of duty. Then Indra, god of clouds, requested the Pandya king to release them but he refused to do so until some one stood as a guarantee for the faithful performance of their duty, viz., of sending rain to his kingdom. Some Vellalas came forward and stood as security; hence they are known as Karaikattan meaning Vellalas that saved the cloud.

The chief seat of the Mudaliars was that part of South India, generally known as Thondaimandalam which was formerly known as Dandakaranya, being the wilderness of the famous giant Dandaka consisting of Madura,

Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, modern Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. Some writers say that they were divided into two chief classes: those who depended upon agriculture for their maintenance, and those who owned land but did not entirely depend on it for their support. The latter class are said to have enjoyed many privileges and honours at the hands of their rulers having held responsible posts of ministers, commanders, ambassadors, etc. Their progeny were noted for their martial spirit and were therefore recruited as soldiers in the Southern Districts. These are said to have been presented with swords and other insignia, worthy of being remembered for ever, by their kings in recognition of their chivalry. They were accordingly known as Kashi-Kavalar meaning commanders of regiment and Vilpettanāttar meaning titled archers. One such commander Aryanayaga Mudaliar, a great general of yore, is remembered to this day. They always attached much dignity to the military pursuits, and they had no little scorn for an uneventful life and a natural death. To fly from the battlefield or to receive a wound on the back was considered to be a great disgrace. As the type of a woman of the ancient Vilpettanāttan race, I may quote the case of a spirited lady who, in response to an enquiry about her son, said: "I know not where my son is but he will anyhow appear on the battlefield," and, pointing to herself, she added "This is the cave out of which sprang that tiger". Similarly, another woman of that race learning that her son had fled from the battlefield swore that she would cut off her breasts that nursed him if he had really turned his back on the foe and herself armed with a sword went to the battlefield and finding among the slain the mangled body of her son, she rejoiced more than she did when he was born. But this feeling of martial valour gradually disappeared after the cessation of the war. Just then Jains and Buddhists actively endeavoured to improve and refine the stability of the Tamilians and their literature which was comparatively far advanced.

The popular legend as to how they were connected with war is that there lived in the forests of Thondaimandalam certain classes of Kurumbar, and other hunting tribes, whose sole occupation was highway robbery and cold-blooded murder. Rebellion and disorder ruled everywhere. They divided the forests into several parts for their depredations. The king of this part of South India, a Chola, who was a Vellala, had a valiant son by name Athondachakravarti, by his second wife of Naga race, of hill tribe which was noted for its dashing valour. This young man, pursuant to the orders of his father, secured the help of the Vellalas of the Tulu country, and subjugated the depredators, and restored peace in the kingdom. He then settled these Tuluva-Vellalas in the Chola kingdom, and granted them free enjoyment of the produce of many villages for 10 years.

The old Chola king then passed away. His son by the first wife, actuated by envy, declared to the subjects, and to the Vellalas in particular, that he would allow them to enjoy the Inam lands for 10 years more, if they would help him in filching the sovereignty, from the hands of his half-brother Athonda. Some of the Vellalas, accepting the offer thus made, rendered him help, and kept the Inam lands in their enjoyment, after the expiry of the first 10 years, notwithstanding the repeated orders of Athonda to make them over to him. This irritated Athonda, and he ordered those who did not give up their lands to be put to death, when they fled to the neighbouring villages for shelter, having had no other alternative, which rendered the place desolate. The king finding that his kingdom was thinly populated, issued a proclamation declaring that he will give away lands free to those who promised to migrate to his dominion, which attracted many Tuluva-Vellalas who subsequently rendered him further great service. He built 21 fortresses and established 81 districts consisting of 1,009 villages. He gave 80 villages and 2,000 acres of land to them to build houses for their residence. The Tuluva-Vellalas having been thus in possession of a large extent of land, were known henceforward as Agamvodayawar meaning possessors of land. The Chola kings were very benevolent rulers, extremely pious. They built temples and choultries for the use of the travellers. Like their masters, the Vellalas were also noted for alms-giving characteristic. In fact they considered this as one of their six principal occupations in life, namely, tilling, cow-breeding, trade, studying the Vedanta, worship of sacrificial fire, and giving alms.

Now, out of the great regard that the king had for them for the help they rendered in establishing his sovereignty the king then called them by name of Mudalar, meaning the men of the first order or rank. The present form Mudaliar is a corruption of it. Its spelling in the English language is misleading and has undergone various changes, but if its correct vernacular meaning is known, it is not likely that there will be any mistake. In support of the statement that Mudalar means men of the first order, it may be pointed out that in Jaffna and in the neighbouring parts of Ceylon where the purest Tamil is still spoken, the term Mudalar is even now used in its original sense. The headman of a community or a corporation or the manager of an office irrespective of his caste is called as Mudalar, meaning the headman or the first man and for a superior title they use the term Maha Mudalar. In this connection I may also point out that in some religious works of Srivaishnavas, the term Mudalar occurs as an honorific suffix in the names of some renowned beings of olden days. For example, Jatayu, the leader of birds is styled as Vihaga Mudalar; similarly, Sugriva the leader of Vanaras is styled as Vanara Mudalar.

Further Mr. Edgar Thurston affirms that the social status of the Vellalas was all along very high, they having been awarded the first place in social esteem and recognised as a very respectable body of the community from a very long time. This is borne out also by the fact that in the ceremony Tula-bharam observed by the Kings in olden days, that is weighing themselves against gold and silver and distributing the weighed gold and silver in charity, the right to weigh the king's person was accorded to a Vellala. Besides, in the sacred Kambaramayanam a Vellala is spoken of as having received the crown from Vasishta's hands and placed it upon Sri Rama's head at the coronation ceremony of Sri Rama after his conquest of Lanka.

When the community grew, the Tuluva-Vellalas were forced to leave their settlements for other adjoining lands, such as Arcot, Ponneri, Kanna-mangalam, Kaniyambakam, Poonamallee and so on, and were known thereafter by the name of the villages in which the various bodies were settled. They had amongst them convenient sub-sections known as Servais, and the headmen of which were known as Servaigars.

Another set of distinction also grew up among the Dravidians by lapse of time. Some of the communities who had fought during the wars and had been compelled to do the duties of the Kshatriya, were themselves known as Kshatriyas, and the appellations Mudaliar as already explained was originally reserved for them. Some others took agriculture while still others, came in contact with Yavanas and became experts in trade.

The commercial intercourse of the Tamilians with Egyptians and other western nations had been probably the cause of existence of certain Tamil words, like Tokai meaning a peacock, Kapi meaning an ape and Agil meaning a fragrant wood, in the Hebrew Bible and also the Tamil words, Arisi meaning rice, inji meaning ginger, mean, rice and ginger in Greek also. It therefore clearly indicates that the Greek merchants conveyed these names to Europe from the Tamil land. The Romans who conquered Egypt were not slow in taking advantage of the profitable trade with the Tamilians.

The community thus came to be classified as Kshatriyas and Vaisyas according to the occupations they first had. It is rather strange that this aspect was lost sight of by the authors of Census Reports of 1881, 1891, and 1901 who have made rather questionable allusions to such a classification of the community. The Vaisya section was further subdivided according to the nature of their trade. Thus some were known as Bhuvaisyas being agriculturists and called themselves Wodayans, some as Govaisyas being cattle owners and called themselves Pillays, some as Dhanavaisyas being traders and called themselves Chettis, some as Gowndans being village headmen, and some as Rayans being village organisers and administrators. Trade

in grain however was followed by a set of Vellalas known as Kulavanikan or Vellanchetti. Vedantic study and worship of sacrificial fire Agnihotram appears to have been done in those days by a section of Vellalas known as Vaidyans now extinct. This name should not however be confounded with the term Vaidya, a physician. These Vaidyans were good Sanskrit scholars and were well versed in the Vedanta. They were therefore employed as ministers under those kings. To distinguish from one another they also preferred calling themselves after the professions they followed. So, analogous to the duties performed by them, they were called by these denominations. Gradually however during the time of peace the occupations of these sections changed, their respective duties became defunct and their appellations became obsolete.

There was a subdivision known as Kumidichatti Vellalas which has now disappeared at least in name. They were known in consequence of their custom of carrying a chatti of fire for all other Vellalas to be used at funerals for cremation. Now the Vellalas carry their own fire for funerals.

There is yet another division of these people, that is, from a time long anterior to the first century of the Christian era, the Tamil speaking Aryan inhabitants seem to have been classified by the then feudatory chiefs as Devārs meaning Dravidian Brahmins, Makkals meaning Aryan Tamilians and Nāgas meaning the Aborigines who used to inhabit the adjoining forests. It is said that the salutary opening term Thevareer in Tamil correspondence while addressing elders takes its origin from the word Devar.

A line drawn from Mercara on the west, to Tirupati on the east, marks the northern limit of the ancient Tamil country and the portion of the Indian Peninsula to the south of this line with the sea on three sides is called the Tamil Agam or Dravidadesham. The Vellalas and Mudaliars are concentrated in this territory. The total population of the Mudaliars in India is about 12 lakhs of which Madras has over 11, Mysore about 12,000 and Hyderabad about 4,000. Bombay, however, has a small population numbering about a thousand.

Vellalas are described in the Madras Census Report of 1871 as an intelligent, peace-loving, frugal and industrious people. In the cultivation of rice, betel-vine, tobacco, etc., it is said that Vellalas have no equals in the world.

In the Tanjore Manual it is stated that Vellalas are unsurpassed as accountants and that following king's palanquins, they could write to dictation, and even make arithmetical calculation with strictest accuracy.

In the Coimbatore Manual it is said that Vellalas are the backbone of the country and it is these who, by their industries and frugality, create and

develop wealth, support the administration and find the money for imperial demands; as the proverb says "the Vellalas goad is the ruler's sceptre."

It is a common saying that every grain sown by them yielded a thousandfold and that they were growing 16 kinds of grains. They were also noted for weaving priceless muslins.

After their settlement in Thondaimandalam these people seem to have formed a colony and ruled it well and dexterously by co-operation and self-sacrifice and with dignified religious, social and ethical rules. Dr. Caldwell says that they were framers of high moral codes. Mr. Vincent Smith has observed that they had ships and that they were experts in navigation. Naval fights too were not unknown to them. Their voyages, however, seemed to have been confined mostly to the east. They brought pearls and corals from Ceylon and spices from Burma. They used to catch the wild elephants in pitfalls dug in the woods but later on they introduced the ingenious method of decoying wild elephants by tame female elephants. Although they are able to manage their own affairs yet with a desire to improve their skill they appear to have got a few skilled artisans from Magadha now known as Patna, mechanics and smiths from Avanthi, now called Oojjani and carpenters from Yavanadesam, meaning Europe as they called it then. They were a gay and polite people and very loyal to their king, fond of music and poetry and of helping the poor, and adoring their gods. Says a European missionary who resided in India for nearly half a century "Swarm the Tamilians like the Greeks or the Scotch of the East, the least superstitious, the most enterprising and persevering race of Hindus."

First they had commercial intercourse with Arabs who came to South India with gold and took in exchange from the Tamil people pepper, pearls, tortoise shells and peacock feathers. Subsequently, they began to deal with Greeks, Romans and Javanese. All of them they called Yavanas meaning Europeans. The word yavana has taken its derivation from the Greek word Iaones which is the name of the Greek nation in their own language. The Jews have a tradition that a large number of them came and settled in the Tamil country soon after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 68 A.D. The copper-plate deeds written in ancient Tamil still in the possession of the Jews and Syrian Christians show and excite much interest not only because of their antiquity but of the fact that ancient Tamil kings conferred on Jewish colonies certain privileges which these colonies still possess to some extent.

The language of the Mudaliars is Tamil which is of the Dravidian group of languages, and had its origin long before 7th century B.C., and its grammar was written so early as 3rd century B.C. by Augustya. Tradition

has it that God Shiva taught Tamil grammar to Augustya soon after he taught Sanskrit Grammar to Panini, the two oldest languages prevalent in the Bharatawarsha. Tamil is even now one of the principal languages spoken on the globe. The question who first brought the Tamil alphabet to them, whether the Southern Dravidians or the Northern Aryans, seems insoluble. It is said that it was from the Nagas that the Aryans, first learnt the art of writing and hence Sanskrit characters are to this day known as Devanagari. Nevertheless all authorities confirm the great antiquity of Tamil literature and the advanced state of civilisation reached by Tamilians as early as the 1st century before the Christian era. The present Tamil characters were in use prior to 650 A.D. But according to Professor Whitney they have undergone changes from century to century until about the 14th century A.D., when they reached the present stereotyped features.

The earlier scholars were of opinion that Tamil was spoken first in Madura, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Chingleput, Travancore, Nilgiris, Ramnad, Ceylon and Quilon, but later research has resulted in the inclusion in the list of countries like Arabia, Baluchistan, Bengal, Burma, China, Java and Orissa. Brāhui, a language spoken in Baluchistan at present is found to have considerable affinity to Tamil in its words and grammatical form.

Civilisation brings with it new thoughts and new ideas which require new words to express them. Every language therefore borrows words and Tamil is no exception to this rule. Some words bearing on religion and philosophy, have been borrowed by it, from Sanskrit, namely, Sandhyavandana, Agnihotra, Yaga, Homa, Kanyadana, and so on. Revenue terms are adopted from Persian, namely, Hukum, Yadi and so on. Administrative terms are taken from English, namely, Court, case, file, report and so on, besides, the colloquial terms, such as gate, compound, coat, ink, etc.

Early Tamil, early Telugu and early Kannada are almost kindred languages and Malayalam is an offshoot of old Tamil, with a rather liberal admixture of Sanskrit words, which formed itself about the 10th century A.D.

Classical Tamil differs from the Tamil of current literature and correspondence, which again differs from colloquial Tamil.

Tamil literature contains works too numerous to mention. In the olden days scholars were evidently not fond of writing novels, to amuse the reading public by fictitious tales. Their aim was entirely religious and philosophical and they freely employed versification. Their works contain the highest spiritual truths and they are held therefore in great veneration even by the Brahmins. Some such works are Silappadhikaram, Manimeghalai, Naladiyar, Chintamani, Nannul, Naishadam, Kambaramayanam, Auyaiyar Padal,

Thevaram, Tiruvaimoli, Thiruvasakam, Jnanavetti, Nalairaprabandham, Nelavenba, Pattannattar Padal, Tayumanswamiyar Padal and so on. I may also give the names of a few important Tamil scholars and poets who were all drawn from the Vellala ranks. They are Kamban, Auvaiyar, Manickwasagar, Nathmuni, Bhadragiriyar, Pattannattar, Tayumanavar, Tirugnana-sambandar, Dandi, Budhamitra, Pavanandi, Appar, Sundarar, and so on. With few exceptions every one of them was an ascetic noted for chastity, piety, self-mortification and abstinence. It is said that the first two, Kamban a poet and Auvaiyar, a poetess were even foretelling the future which was accurately realised. It is surprising to note that the whole of the Tamil literature, namely Theology in which the Tamilians excelled, all the other nations of Antiquity, Philosophy, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry and Medicine, and in fact every work of theirs, such as even Grammar and Dictionary were in verse.

Mr. Kanakasabhai, a great Tamil scholar, affirms that the five major and five minor epics, the 18 anthologies, the 10 major and the 18 minor poems are all works of purely Tamil origin.

In the 19th century a new impetus is given to prose composition and an earnest attempt is being made to introduce prose as much as possible. Messrs. Swaminatha Iyer, Tandavaraya Mudaliar, and Veerasami Chettiar deserve special mention for their modern prose works.

It will be interesting to note that in the year 1769, a celebrated Italian missionary, by name Constantius Beschi, who resided in Madura for over 40 years, rendered the Biography of Jesus Christ into a Tamil epic known as Tembavani and he has tried to put it in the fashion of Kambaramayana. Similarly, in the year 1895, one Mr. Krishna Pillay, an Indian Christian of Palamcottah, has translated Bunyan's Pilgrims Progress in fine Tamil verse. About the 3rd century of the Christian era, they had established three academies in Madura and Tinnevely to improve Tamil literature. They were known as Sanghams of which the third was the most important one. But poetry seems to have been their hobby to which they paid much attention. Students were also taught in these universities Philosophy, Chemistry, Physics, Physiology and Medicine.

These Sanghams had 500 members. The majority of them were poets. They were patronised by the Pandya, the Chola, and the Chera kings, most of whom were also poets and belonged to the Vellala tribe. A Danish scholar has remarked that the academies like the ancient institutions of the Tamil people similarly that of French which was established in 1634 A.D., that is, over 1,000 years after the Tamil academies, have great influence to check the style and general standard of writing and to maintain the purity and simpli-

city of the language. Dr. Jespersen remarks that in spite of the safeguards of ancient Tamilians not to multiply words of the same signification there are in Tamil 34 synonyms for the word wind, 50 for water, 35 for clouds, 62 for earth, 60 for mountain, and so on. It is interesting to note that in those days particular attention was paid to women's education. The monarchs of those days paid munificent grant to poets, such as the grant of 500 villages, revenue of all southern districts for 40 years, 40 lakhs of gold coins, of the value of Rs. 2-8-0 each. It is said that a certain poetess received from a Pandya king a reward of an elephant, a chariot and a garland of golden flowers for her poetry.

They had their own vocal and instrumental music and dances. But they rightly gave this art, a religious character. They had stringed instruments very peculiar and well suited for their mode of singing. These instruments had 7 to 21 strings denoting Sapta ragas. But it is said that a particular instrument, which was being used in the days of Augustya and which became extinct even before 3rd century A.D. had 1,000 strings. A great variety of of wind instruments were also in use. It is said that the curriculum of studies of music of those days would do credit to any of the most accomplished institution of the kind of the present day. They had in all 103 distinct tunes. They had their characteristic and favourite dances and one of their deities who is supposed to be very fond of dancing is named as Nataraj, meaning King of dancing.

They were not at the same time backward in dramas. Like that of the Greeks their dramas formed part of their religious ceremonies. It is said that the first Tamil drama was enacted in the 3rd century A.D. In the year 1712 one Arunachala Kavi, author of Rama Natakam, enacted it in the court of the Mahratta Raja by name Sri Surfoji Raja of Tanjore. Mr. Day has given an interesting description of this and so also Dr. Kumarasami has made illuminating contributions about it.

It will be interesting to note that the great Vaishnava saint Nammalvar and Shaiva ascetic Tayumanaswami also belong to this sect of Vellala caste.

In the very beginning the prevailing religion was animism, the worship of the departed ancestors and heroes. After the early wars evil spirits and blood thirsty gods namely Katteri, Karuppan, Maduraviran, etc., were worshipped by them. They also believed in omens, auguries and sorcery. They observed feasts when they returned after success in wars and on the birthday of kings and fasts on full moon days. It is between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D., they were given a philosophic basis of worship by Sankaracharya and Ramanujacharya. Thus there are among the communities both Shaivites and Vaishnavites.

Self-mortification and abstinence from pleasures were advocated as the highest road to salvation and with such religious turn of mind the sphere of music was transferred from house to temple. The Vaishnava and Shaiva hymns, namely *Nalairaprabandham* and *Thevaram* began to be sung in temples. Besides the four great gods, namely Vishnu, Shiva, Balaram, and Muruga, they had 33 deities, 12 of them comprising Auditya, 11 Rudra, 8 Vasu and 2 Marutta. These were subsequently increased to 33 crores during the puranic period. Charity was extolled as a great virtue from the beginning. There were three grades of donors amongst them. Those who gave charity unasked and without proclaiming from the house tops were considered to be of the first class, and those who offered what was asked were of the second class and those who grudgingly gave after much importunity belonged to the third class.

The community is divided into 96 gotras, the names of 13 of which end in Thiriyar, 14 in Rayan and 69 in Wodayan. The first, namely Thiriyar designates the tribes to which that section of Vellalas originally belonged. The second, namely Rayan is the title conferred on them by the Pandya, the Chola and the Chera kings. While the third, namely Wodayan appears to have been the name of the villages of which they were the chieftains.

In those days the king was assisted by a council of five members. They consisted of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers, and ministers. This council safeguarded the rights of the people. Their various duties were; the priests directed all religious ceremonies and settled disputes arising in that connection. The physicians attended to the health and the sanitation of the country, astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events while the ministers attended to the administration of the justice. The king wore a long crown of a conical shape made of gold, set with precious stones and the queen did not wear a crown unless she had inherited the monarchy in her own right. On all public occasions she took her seat on the throne along with the king. The King was the head of the Government and of the society as well. Big chariots drawn by 7 horses were used by the king and the queen only in processions and on festive occasions. The ministers wore a peculiar head gear. Justice was administered free of charges to suitors but the punishments were rather severe and hence crimes were rare. A thief arrested with the stolen property in his possession was beheaded. The orders of the king were proclaimed throughout his capital with beat of drums, riding on elephants by officers specially told off for the purpose. Time-criers were employed in the palace to cry out the end of each Naligai which was then reckoned by hour glasses. Tiger was the ensign of the king and tiger stamps were marked on goods.

In the 3rd century A.D., there were five methods of disposing the dead, namely cremation, burial, exposure in the jungle to be eaten by jackals and vultures, stuffing them in the pits, and covering them with big earthen jars. The third method finds an echo in the customs of the Parsees at the present time. The ashes of the cremated dead body of gallant military officers, and soldiers and also of renowned persons were being buried in olden days on the roadside of the important streets with inscriptions. These tomb stones are found even now in many of the roads of the Tamil Districts and are known as Virakkals.

Now, turning to their present habits and customs it will be found that most Mudaliars are strict vegetarians in whose precincts neither a dog nor a fowl can be seen as their very sight is considered by them as pollution. Others take animal food but they are strictly prohibited from taking any flesh other than that of sheep.

Their dress is not unlike that adopted by the majority of Southern Indians.

Their old arts and industry have become extinct. Even their gods have disappeared as Indra and Balaram are no more invoked by them and in the temples of Shiva it is the lingam and not the image of Shiva that is worshipped now.

As a rule, all ceremonies are presided over by and performed through the medium of Brahmin priests. The ceremonies observed after birth are that both the child and the mother bathe on the eleventh day and after punyaham is performed by the Purohit and panchakavyam a sanctifying potion of the five products of the cow is drunk by the mother, they are supposed to be pure and may enter into the household as before. Until this sanctifying ceremony is performed all the family members are considered to be unclean. No divine worship of any kind is offered in the house during the first ten days nor is any other religious performance undertaken. When the housewife is pregnant the husband is not allowed to carry a dead body or build a new house by putting a loft on it as it is supposed to have an evil effect at delivery time. And allusion is made to the weight put on the house which will render the delivery more painful. On the evening of the eleventh day married women are invited who put the child in the cradle and sing some lallubies suited to the occasion. Simultaneously with this some have Nāmakarnam ceremony, naming of the child, performed and the others have this done in the third month. A name corresponding to the Nakshatram, star under which the child was born is given to it. Friends and relatives gather on the occasion and offer their presents to the child in the shape of ornaments and cloths.

When a girl attains her age intimation of the same is given to the relatives through the washer-woman of the house. When the married women are congregated the girl is bathed with the accompaniment of the music and is kept in a separate room for five days and the girl is bedecked in different disguises, when married women sing songs to the accompaniment of the music suited to the occasion. On the sixth day Punyaham is performed by the Brahmin Purohit. And on the 7th day the final ceremonies are performed when all the relatives and friends are invited who give presents in the shape of jewels, cloths and money to the girl and they partake of the dinner and bless the girl. The time of the girl's attaining her age is noted and the purohit is consulted as to the hour being auspicious or otherwise, and the consequent good or evil to the girl and also to the husband, if she is married, is foretold.

There is no age restriction for eligibility to marry in either sex. But child marriages are condemned and are never performed as a rule. Girls may be married either before or after the attainment of age. Marriages are arranged for and brought by the parents or other elderly members of the parties. With regard to the selection of the brides, preference is generally given either to a sister's or maternal uncle's daughter if available and suited. Betrothal ceremony takes place either a few months or a few days before the marriage or just along with the marriage. The marriage ceremony lasts for three to five days generally. The worshipping of the family deities precedes all other ceremonies. Pandakal fixing one of the four pillars of the marriage pandal is the initial ceremony of the marriage festivities. This is performed by married women. On this occasion too friends and relatives congregate.

The bridegroom is brought in procession to the wedding place the bride's house generally.

Third is the important day on which the principal ceremony of marriage, namely tying the tali takes place.

This consists of:—

1. Oil bathing.
2. Sanctifying.
3. Bringing the sacred earthen pots.
4. Lighting the sacred lamp.
5. Tying the sacred thread armlet.
6. Burning the sacrificial fire.
7. Giving the bride away.
8. Tying the tali.
9. Rice blessing, and
10. Giving alms.

Untying the thread armlets takes place on the last day. Generally, the consummation of the marriage takes place in the third month after the marriage. For it is considered that the birth of a child before the lapse of one year from the time of marriage is inauspicious.

Widow marriage is strictly prohibited.

The dead bodies are, as a rule, cremated but those of unmarried people and the followers of Shiva are buried. Generally, the eldest son performs the ceremonies connected with the death of father or mother. Pollution is observed for ten nights and on any day after this but generally on the 16th day the final ceremonies are performed in a garden. All the rites observed by the Brahmins are performed on the last day. Annual ceremonies are also performed. Adoption is permitted, but it is seldom resorted to.

Thus the ceremonies, etc., are almost identical to those of Brahmins with the exception of Upanayanam and Kasi Yatre but the most distinguishing features of them are :—

Marriage after puberty.

And in such cases the most advantageous system of consummation of marriage after three months which system other communities may adopt with advantage if they choose.

Interdining and intermarriage between meat-eating and vegetarian factions of this sect. It should be remembered, however, that each section will have great regard for others' prejudices and will respect their sentiments in this concern and will afford all facilities and conveniences to maintain such customs when all of them have to meet at a common place of dining with respective members.

Intermarriage and interdining between the Vaishnavites and Shaivites unlike our Brahmin brethren, in this respect the Mudaliars have taken a step of reform which is most conducive to social advancement.

A few constantly wear the sacred thread but all Mudaliars have to wear only at the time of performing the Vedic rituals, Yagnopavitam and Pavitram, as a mark of the sacred nature of the ceremonies of all kinds including those at marriages and after deaths which are presided over by the Brahmin Purohits. In well-to-do families these two indicative symbols of Brahmins are made in gold and preserved for use on such occasions.

This short account which I have been able to place before you will, I hope, show that the Tamil community of Mudaliars are the inheritors of a great and ancient civilisation. Their culture commands the admiration of every scholar who has made a searching study of its history.

KAUTILYA AND KALIDASA

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Texts used:—Of the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay (unless stated otherwise).

Artha.—"Kautilīyam Arthaśāstram": *New edition* Bangalore. Its English translation by Mr. Shastri is referred to also in brackets along with it.

"Kāmandakiya Nītisāra":—Trivandrum Series.

"Śukra Nīti":—Gujarati Press, Bombay.

Abbreviations:—Śāk=Śākuntalam. Raghu=Raghuvamśa. गौधम्=गौतमीय-धर्मसूत्र, Mālavikā=Mālavikāgnimitram. Śukra=Śukranīti. Rām=Rāmāyaṇa. Mb.=Mahābhārata.

This paper* covers some very important parallels of thoughts and language found in the works of Kautilya and Kālidāsa. They have remained unnoticed hitherto. Attention is drawn to their nature and to the development of arguments therefrom. Hunting is the chief subject which helps us to understand them. Some others are those where glimpses are given about a deceased king, a new king and about a high priest. The use of technical terms is also interesting.

The picture of hunting in Śākuntala belongs to a time which changed appreciably (as can be inferred from the passages we shall give) when Raghuvamśa was written. What is depicted in Raghuvamśa cannot be referred to the time Śākuntala portrays because, a certain alteration is *emphasized* in the former. That emphasis has been put in his work by Kautilya marking a change which itself is due to the change of ways in hunting in his days or which is due to himself, he being instrumental either in bringing it about or in giving a recognition to it. On the strength of this evidence,—and it is such which knows *no* contradiction,—the date of Kālidāsa is referred to the age of Kautilya. Again, the expressions used and the method followed by Kālidāsa exhibit the *thoroughness* ascribed to Kautilya ("सुदृढं विष्णुगुह्यम्"); therefore, his personality is inferred to be that of Kautilya. That there is no mistake in the arguments advanced is pointed out by bringing into contrast other passages from literature on the same subject. (Passages from foreign literature may help even more.)

* [Read at the First Oriental Conference at Poona, and secured for the Q.J.M.S. by the kind permission of the Secretaries—ED.]

Moreover, to express in the peculiar way of Kautilya, what his age demanded of him, would be superfluous even after the lapse of one century if the currency, authority and reputation which he and his Arthaśāstra gained are considered, and if the conservative uniformity of Indian life running down unchanged for many centuries is not forgotten. The change and the expression of that change belong to that age only. Lapse of time is inadmissible because the ring of the old order (of hunting) in Śākuntala (the new one has only a shadow of it), disappears completely in Raghuvamśa, wherein the new order is seen to have advanced and established. The queer position created by the clash of the vanishing old and approaching new find full expression only in Śāk. and in the debate in the Artha., pp. 329 (398-99). The freshness, joys and advantages that the new one has brought in its trail find complete expression in Raghuvamśa only. This fact will be pointed out at length in the succeeding pages without further preamble. It will then be found that both the authors—Kautilya and Kālidāsa—are connected in a way they are connected with none else.

To begin :—

Who will imagine that there is some *hidden link* between the two verses IX, 49 and IX, 53 of Raghuvamśa? They are given below.* At first sight it appears that there is little significance in the occurrence of the verse 53rd; much less in its proximity to the verse 49th: Supposing that an edition omits it altogether, the omission remains unsuspected with all the knowledge we have at present! Its indispensable nature remains beyond discernment.

Who will think that the verses of Raghu. IX, 68—71, are all interlinked and are all equally important? Who will dream that the portions dealing with hunting in Śāk. (Acts I and II) and Raghu. Canto IX are *personal* views of Kautilya?

A Politician named Piśuna criticizes hunting rather adversely.

“Piśuna says that of hunting and gambling hunting is a worse vice; for falling into the hand of robbers, enemies and elephants (vyāla) getting into wild fire, fear, inability to distinguish between the cardinal points, hunger, thirst and loss of life are evils consequent

* “परिचयं चलक्ष्यनिपातने
भयरूपोश्च तदिद्विबोधनम् ।
श्रमजयात्प्रगुणां च करोत्यसौ
तनुमतोऽनुमतः सचिवैर्ययौ ” ॥ IX. 49.

“शगणिवायुरिकैः प्रथमास्थितं
व्यपगतानलदस्यु विवेश सः ।
स्थिरतुरंगमभूमि निपानवन्-
सृगवयोगवयोपचित वनम् ” ॥ IX. 53.

upon hunting....." Artha., pp. 329 (398-9).*

"No," says Kauṭilya....." in hunting, exercise, the disappearance of phlegm, bile, fat, and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving bodies, the ascertainment of the appearance of beasts when provoked and occasional march (are its good characteristics)." *Ibid.*, pp. 329 (399).†

Well! was Piśuna a fool to raise objections and not to see the advantages? Has Kauṭilya quoted him in vain? It looks as if his objections remain unanswered. It is not so, however.

A notable feature of the discussions in the Arthaśāstra is as follows:—Although an opinion for or against a subject in question is given, it is not sought to lower its value thereby or on the other hand unduly raise it in our estimation. It is not a form of vanity on the part of the author. The discussion usually develops, on the whole, in a simple device with him, by which he draws the attention of the reader to the strong and weak points of the matter controverted, and the debate on it sets the various points off against one another imparting rare clearness in meaning, the substance acquainting the student with all sorts of possibilities involved in the choice that may be made. All the objections have fullest value attached to them; and the author bestows careful attention to all of them, making necessary provisions where there are drawbacks; and finally arranges his system in such a manner that the benefits of the way preferred can be well realized. Let us see it—the system (in the safeguards and the provisions—) in the case of hunting in the Arthaśāstra.

Pages 46 (52). "There shall be constructed in the extremities of the

* "तस्य मृगयाचूतयोः मृगया गरीयसी इति पिशुनः—“स्तेनामित्रव्याब्दावप्रस्खलनभयदिह्मोहाः क्षुत्पिपासे च प्राणाबाधस्तस्याम् । शूते तु जितमेवाक्षविदुषा यथा जयत्सेनदुर्योधनाभ्याम्” इति ॥ Cf. Raghu. IX, 53. The passage is important because the evils it portrays, though expressed in Śākuntala, remain there uncontrolled by necessary arrangements and safeguards.

† "नेति कौटिल्यः... मृगयायां तु व्यायामः श्लेष्मपित्तमेदस्वेदनाशक्षले रिधरे च काये लक्षपरिचयः कोपस्थाने हि तेषु च मृगणां चित्तज्ञानमनित्ययानं चेति" ॥ cf. Śāk II. "दृष्टदोषाऽपि स्वामिनि मृगया केवलं गुण एव संवृत्ता" । and then

...“मेदश्छेदकशोदरं लघु भवत्सुस्थानयोग्यं वपुः
सस्वानामपि लक्ष्यते विकृतिमच्चित्तं भयक्रोधयोः ।
उत्कर्षः स च धन्विनां यदिषवः सिध्यन्ति लक्ष्ये चले
मिथ्यैव व्यसनं वदन्ति मृगयामीदृग्विनोदः कुतः” ॥ ५ ॥

Cf. also Raghu. IX, 49 and contrast Kādambari, p. 189.

kingdom forts manned by boundary guards whose duty shall be to guard the entrances into the kingdom. The interior of the kingdom shall be watched by trap-keeper (Vāgurika), archers (Śabara), hunters (pulinda), Chāṇḍālas, and wild tribes (Aranyachara).*

Pages 141 (177). "Pasture grounds shall be opened between any two dangerous places. Valleys shall be cleared from the fear of thieves, elephants (Vyāḷa) and other beasts..... Hunters and hound-keepers shall reconnoitre forests. At the approach of thieves or enemies,as to the movements of enemies or wild tribes they may send information.†"

Pages 44 (49). "He shall engage himself in sports only in such forests as are cleared by hunters and hound-keepers from the dangers of highway-robbers, snakes, and enemies.‡"

Pages 59-60 (65-66). "The collector-general shall attend to forests". "Game-forests, timber-forests and elephant-forests are forests.§"

Pages 44 (49). With a view of acquiring efficiency in the skill of shooting arrows at moving objects, he shall engage himself in sports..... ¶

Pages 49 (55). "A forest as extensive as the above (*i.e.*, forest assigned to Brāhmanas) provided with only one entrance rendered inaccessible by the construction of ditches all round, with plantations of delicious fruit trees, bushes, bowers and thornless trees, with an expansive lake of water full of harmless animals, and with tigers (vyāḷa), beasts of prey, male and female elephants, young elephants and bisons—all deprived of their claws and teeth shall be formed for the king's sports." "On the extreme limit of the country or in any other suitable locality, another game-forest with game-beasts, open to all, shall also be made. In view of procuring all kinds of

* "अन्तेषु अन्तपालदुर्गाणि । जनपदद्वाराण्यन्तपालाधिष्ठितानि स्थापयेत् । [Cf. Mālavikā. I. portion between vss. 5 and 6.] तेषामन्तराणि वागुरिकशबरपुच्छिन्दचण्डालारण्यचरा रक्षेयुः ।"

† "भयान्तरेषु च विधीतं स्थापयेत् । चोरव्याळभयाग्निमन्तरण्यानि शोधयेत् । लुब्धकश्वगणिनः परित्रजेयुररण्यानि । ...तत्स्करामित्राभ्यागमे...शब्दं कुर्युः...अमित्राट्वांसञ्चारं च राज्ञो हारयेयुः" ॥ Cf. Raghu. IX, 53. Such were the agencies created, as preventives of the dangers specified by Piśuna.

‡ "लुब्धकैः" श्वगणिभिरपास्तस्तेनव्याळपराबाधभयं...मृगारण्यं गच्छेत्" । Cf. Raghu. IX, 53.

§ "समाहर्ता...वनं...चावेक्षेत" ॥

¶ "चललक्षपरिचयार्थमृगारण्यं गच्छेत्" । Cf. Artha. pp. 329 (399): Śāk. II, 5; Raghu. IX. 49; Śāk. I, 8 and Raghu. IX, 57—66.

forest-produce described (elsewhere), one or several forests shall be specially reserved;" pp. 141(177). "In barren tracts of country there shall be constructed not only tanks, buildings for shelter, and wells but also flower gardens and fruit gardens.*"

Such were the arrangements and rules that were either prevalent when the Arthaśāstra was written; or came into existence when for the first time Kauṭilya wrote about them. We see how it has been provided for pleasers, for avoidance of evils and inconveniences in hunting. The objections of Piśuna may be re-read. It will then be found that *each and all* of them have been removed by proper arrangement and necessary safeguards. *That is what Kauṭilya has done*, by either well incorporating the old or by way of achievement in creating a new order. Whatever it may be, he has taken a proper note of all the points and has *voiced* what remained untold till then. *It is what Kālidāsa has done* in Śāk. Acts I and II, by expressing the *old* order reciting the benefits and in Raghuvamśa Canto IX, by expressing the new and rejecting the old with a full exposition of the new one. Raghu. IX, 53, states that 'fires and robbers' were removed; 'hunters and trap-keepers' were employed; 'the ground' was even (to avert accidents); there were places full of 'water'; beasts and birds were in abundance. Without all these the fears of Piśuna would prove too true. Let us go through the objections of Vidushaka and the uneasiness which haunts his mind while he is on hunting. Cf. Śāk., Act II.

- (a) "अटवीतोऽटवीमाहीण्यमानो नरनासिका लोलुपस्य जीर्णक्ष्वस्य मुखे पतिष्यसि" ।
 (b) "मध्याह्नेऽपि शोष्मविरलपादपच्छायासु वनराजीषु आहिण्यतेऽटवीतोऽटवी" ।
 (c) "अनियतवेले शूल्यमांसभूयिष्ठ आहारो भुज्यते" ।
 (d) "पत्रसंकरकपायाणि कट्वानि गिरिनदीजलानि पीयते" ।
 (e) "श्वापदसमुत्सारणैः संक्षोभितसन्धिवन्धनां मम गात्राणामनीशोऽस्मि संवृत्तः" ।
 (f) "तुरगानुधावनकण्डितसंधे रात्रावपि निकामं शयितव्यं नास्ति.....महत्वेव प्रत्युषे दास्याः पुत्रैः शकुनिलुब्धकैर्वनग्रहणकोलाहलेन प्रतिबोधितोऽस्मि" ।
 (g) "अहम्भङ्गविकल इव भूत्वा स्थास्यामि यद्येवमपि नाम विश्रामं लभेयम्" । and accordingly
 "न मे हस्तपादं प्रसरति । बाहूमात्रेण ज्ञापयिष्यामि" ।

* "तावन्मात्रमेकद्वारं खातगुप्तं स्वादुफलगुल्मगुच्छमकण्टकिद्रुममुत्तानतोदाशयं दान्तमृगचतुष्पदं भद्र-
 नखदंष्ट्रव्यालमार्गयुकहस्तिहस्तिनोकलभमृगवनं विहारार्थं रात्रः कारयेत् । सर्वातिथिमृगं प्रत्यन्ते चान्यन्मृगवनं
 भूमिवशेन वा निवेशयेत् । कुप्यप्रदिष्टानां च द्रव्याणामेकैकशो वा वनं निवेशयेत् । अनुदके कूपसेतु बन्धोत्सान्
 स्थापयेत् पुष्पफलवटान्श्च" ॥ (Cf. Raghu. IX, 69-71). Contrast the monologue of Vidushaka
 in Śāk. II.; (Cf. Raghu. IX, 69-71.) Here is the *constructive* programme of the
 system. It acquires importance by its *absence* of expression in Śākuntala only.

(h) “राजकार्याण्युज्झित्वा । आकुलप्रदेशे । वनचरवृत्तिना ” ।

(i) “मृगयाशीलस्य राज्ञो वयस्यभावेन निर्विण्णोऽस्मि ” । and the longing for rest
“तत्प्रसादयिष्यामि विसर्जितुं मामेकाहमपि ” ।

Such are the grievances of the “मृगयापवादी मादव्य.” It will be found that most of them are (put as it were in his mouth) the objections of Piśuna. The Vidushaka represents him; the charioteer, the commander and the king are, as it were, mouth-pieces of Kauṭilya.

(1) Śāk. I, 6, “कृष्णसारे ददच्छुः” creates a good impression, vivifying hunting movements; it is a ‘grand picture. It diverts our mind from unpleasant fears and bad consequences of hunting.

(2) Śāk. I, 7, “श्रीवाभङ्ग.....” and I, 8 “मुक्तेपुरश्चिमु.....”, etc. give us an idea of fear and other emotions of an animal; Raghu. IX, 56-57 do the same.

(3) The charioteer’s speech (Śāk., Act I) “उद्धातिनी भूमिरिति,” etc., informs us how his skill overcomes the danger of uneven grounds. But this is dependance on him; and accordingly it is removed in Raghu. IX, 53 by creating “स्थिरतुरंगमभूमि.” Accidents resulting from “प्रस्खलन” are thus averted in the first case and *made impossible* in the second one.

(4) Against thirst and bad water (“कद्द्रूने गिरिनदीजलानि” of *Sākuntala*) “निपानवत्” of Raghu. IX, 53 is the *improvement*. *

(5) Against uncomfortable beds, absence of long sleep and troublesome early waking up are described the pleasers of ‘प्रवालशय्या,’ passing away of night on it amidst brilliant Aushadhis (Raghu. IX, 70) and the beautiful morn; cooing of birds and the rhythm created by flaps of the ears of elephants serve the usual morning music, replacing the songs of royal bards (Raghu. IX, 71); all of them contribute to a pleasant waking up.

(6) Fatigue is amply removed by refreshing fragrant cold breezes.

(7) Hunting had a very bad effect on the mood of Vidushaka; on the contrary, it proved very beneficial to the person of the king. (Cf. Śāk. II, 4, “अनवरतधनुः”....etc.), in spite of the faults (Śāk. II, p. 63, “दृष्टदोषापि.....मृगया केवलं गुण एव संवृत्ता ।”).

* The gradual process of *evolution and change* in hunting, transitions from one arrangement to the other, and removal of the grounds of complaint, can be definitely marked and followed in the differences we find between the pictures of hunting in Śāk. and in Raghu. [Curiously enough, by an oversight, Mr. Shamasastri has missed the word ‘प्रस्खलन’ of Piśuna while translating the text of the Artha.]

- (8) "आकुलप्रदेश s" are previously cleared by "श्रगणि and बागुरिक". They well remove 'fires and robbers.' Cf. Raghu. IX, 53.*
- (9) Efficiency in aim at moving marks is vividly depicted in Raghu. IX, 60, 61—63, 66, ff. Hence it is truly *impressed* upon the reader in Śāk. II, 5., उत्कर्षः स च धन्विनाम्.
- (10) Behind the scenes of excitement, there are backgrounds of glory of the season in one case and the relief of the calm atmosphere of a hermitage in the other. They create, over and above the arguments advanced, a favourable impression of hunting from the very start, and finally elicit the assent of the public by rendering it a pleasant and coveted exercise. Cf. Śāk. II, 5. 'इदृग्विनोदः कुतः' No such attempt to win the public is made in Raghuvaṃśa.
- (11) Raghu. IX, 49 expresses directly what Kauṭilya advances and IX, 53 directly eliminates objectionable elements recounted by Piśuna. They do exist in Śākuntala as can be inferred from what Vidushaka says.

These are what has been termed the *hidden links* between the passages and thoughts. They cannot be seen by the help of Kāmandaka (Nīti XI, 36)† who effaces all traces of Piśuna, treating hunting quite differently. The propriety of each and every sentence of Śākuntala the improvements made in the verses of Raghuvaṃś, and the significance of their being grouped together will not be understood at all.

It will be reasonable to believe then, that "मिथ्यैव व्यवसनं वदन्ति मृगायां" (Śāk. II, 5), pointingly alludes to the arguments of Piśuna. It weighs the disadvantages with the advantages mentioned. The objections are enumerated through the jester and against them all *the merits* are heralded through the king, the commander, and the charioteer. But something more was necessary to make hunting perfectly harmless. The system devising the methods and good exhibition of skill in the efficiency of aim are therefore depicted in Raghuvaṃśa.

So far we pointed out the affinity in thought which ran through the Arthaśāstra, Śākuntala and Raghuvaṃśa. If attention is paid to the language, the same affinity will be seen running along with the thoughts. More words need not be wasted over the question of language or thoughts

* Cf. याज्ञ I, 33. मनु VII, 225.

† सुविनीतसुवेषपृष्ठयानः सुखगन्धामुचितां च लक्ष्यसि ध्वै ।

सुपरीक्षितरक्षितान्तर्त्तमां लघुकोष्ठस्तु मृगाटवीमुपेयात् ॥

because passages from literature on hunting automatically bear out a perfect contrast in the language, in the outlook, in the arrangement and in the way of thinking. Let us cite here some such passages.

I.....King Dushyanta takes to hunting. (Mb. ādi. chs. 69-70).

“स कदाचिन्महाबाहुः प्रभूतबलवाहनः वनं जगाम गहनं ह्यनागशतैर्वृतः ।

बलेन चतुरगेण वृतः परमवल्गुना खड्गशक्तिधरैर्वारैर्गदामुसलपाणिभिः ॥

प्राप्तो मरुहस्तैश्च ययौ योधशतैर्वृतः सिंहनादैश्च योधानां शङ्खदुन्दुभिनिःस्वनैः ।

रथनेमिस्वनैश्चैव नागवरवृहितैः नानाधुधधरैश्चापि नानावेषधरैस्तथा ” ॥etc.

[Contrast; Raghu. IX, 49—53.]

The royal procession comes in. The citizens are delighted with it and they follow the king to a certain distance. Then,

“गच्छन् ददृशे धीमान्मदनप्रतिमं वनं । बिल्वार्कखदिराकीर्णं कपित्थधवसंकुलम् ॥

विषमं पर्वतस्रस्तैरदमभिश्च समावृतं । निर्बलं निर्मनुष्यं च बहुयोजनमायतम् ॥

मृगान्निहैवृत्तं घोरैरन्यैश्चापि वनेचरैः । तदनं मनुजव्याघ्रः सभृत्यबलवाहनः ॥

लोडयामास दुष्यंतो मृदयान्विविधान्मृगान् ॥

याणगोचरसंप्राप्तास्तत्रव्याघ्रगणान्वहन् । पातयामास दुष्यंतो निविभेद च सायकैः ॥

दूरस्थान्सायकैः कांश्चिदभिनत्स नराधिपः । अभ्याशमागतांश्चन्यान्खड्गेन निरकृतत ” ॥

[Contrast : Artha. pp. 49 (55).]

Beasts run about in panic, driven to exhaustion and starvation: the hunters are so fatigued and hungry that with great appetite and pleasure they devour their raw flesh. The affair terminates on the king's reaching an Āshrama.

“एक एव उत्तमबलः क्षुत्पिपासासमन्वितः । स वनस्यान्तमासाद्य,etc.

Cf. Artha., pp. 329 (398-9) : the remarks of Piśuna.

It may be noted from the above chapters (of Mb.) that hunting is awful by its fierce aspects (such as revolved in the mind of Vidushaka). It will be marked that the only point of interest there is the one of a bystander. The whole recital proceeds from the instinct of a bard narrating before a wondering audience. With Kālidāsa it is different.

II.....Tragedy in Rāmāyana begins with the banishment of the hero. It may be said to develop at the sight of the golden deer.

“कस्य रूपमिदं दृष्ट्वा जाम्बूनदमयप्रभम् । नानारत्नमयं दिव्यं न मनो विरमयं ब्रजेत् ” ॥

Indeed, the attraction proved irresistible for Sita. Rama therefore went out to hunt him. (Rām. Aranya., ch. 43, 30, ff., ch. 44, 5, ff.).

“मांसहेतोरपि मृगान्विहारार्थं च धन्विनः । गन्ति लक्ष्मण राजानो मृगयायां महावने ” ॥

Over and above them, Rāma says,

“धनानि व्यवसायेन विचीयन्ते महावने । धातवो विविधाश्चापि मणिरत्नसुवर्णिनः ”

[Contrast : Artha., pp. 329 (399) ; Sāk. II, 5 and Raghu. IX, 49.]

This is how Rāma is after the chase.

“अवेक्ष्यावेक्ष्य धावन्तं धनुष्पाणिर्महावने । अतिवृत्तमिवोत्पाताहोमयानं कदाचन ॥

शङ्कितं तु समुद्भ्रान्तमुत्पतन्तमिवाम्बरम् । दृश्यमानमदृश्यं च वनोद्देशेषु केपुचिव ॥

छिन्नाभ्रैरिव संवीतं शारदं चन्द्रमण्डलं । मुहुतादेव ददृशे मुहुर्दूरात्प्रकाशम् ॥

दर्शनादर्शनेनैव सोऽपाकर्षत राघवम् ” ॥

Source of some verses and dialogues of the first Act of *Śākuntala* may be traced to some of the above lines, but the purpose—“इङ्कितज्ञान” of the chase,—emphasised by Kautilya and Kālidāsa for the hunter himself is here transferred to the masses who hear the composition.

III.....In 63rd ch. of *Ayodyā-Kānda*, King Dasaratha recalls with anguish his former mishap in hunting and relates how, when a prince, he unwittingly killed a young sage led away by his “Śabdavedhitva.”

In *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In *Raghu*. IX.

The Blame: rests on his fancy after hitting an unknown object by hearing its sound only.

.....falls upon his violation of the law regarding the non-killing of elephants.*

Episode: forms recollections of a dying man, down with agony and grief.

.....remains full of joy and when it comes to grief, it is that of a hopeful man.

Interest: centres upon one's past deeds and their fruits.

.....lies in hunting movements. They are very prominent.

Time: When Dasaratha is a prince.

...when he is a king.

Season: Rainy.

.....Spring.

Descriptions: of rains and storms.

.....of Sylvan glory and joys of hunting.

Place: a forest.

.....In *Śāk.* a forest: in *Raghu*. a game-forest.

Language: of a seer: unsurpassed in imagery, force and simplicity.

.....bears the grace of a poet and restraint of a scholar.

V. 21 “जिवांसुरजितेन्द्रियः”

.....Cf. IX, 69 and 74.

* References to the law are as follows:—

Raghu. V, 50. Cf. मनु IX, 380; याज्ञ II, 23, 273:

Artha., pp. 50 (55); 122 (152).

Raghu. IX, 65. Cf. *Artha*., pp. 50 (56); 141 (177). Care bestowed upon elephants and elephant-forests. Cf. *Artha*., pp. 60 (66); 49 (55); 17 (19); 135 (169); 264 (328). Cf. *Raghu*. XVII, 66.

Rules in Śukra, I, 332-3 and IV, 7 are as follows:—

“ व्याघ्रादिभिर्वनचरैर्मयूराद्यैश्च पक्षिभिः । क्रीडयेन्मृगयां कुर्याद्दृष्टसत्त्वान्निपातयन् ॥

शौर्यं प्रवर्धते नित्यं लक्ष्यसन्धानसाधनम् । अकातरत्वं शस्त्रास्त्रशीघ्रपातनकारिता ॥

मृगयायां गुणास्ते हिंसादोषो महत्तरः ॥

मृगयाभिस्तु व्याघ्राणां शस्त्रास्त्राभ्यासतः सदा । वक्ष्येच्छूरसंयोगात् सम्यक् शौर्यबलं नृपः ” ॥

[Contrast Artha. pp. 44 (49) ; Śāk., II, 5 and Raghu. IX, 49.]

Acc. to Śukra.

Acc. to Kālidāsa.

Hunting : Forms one of the manyA great sport ; a source of diversion and new experiences.

Discussion : None.In full swing.

Merits : Enhancement of bodily vigour in general.More than that : advantages counted in detail. Moreover, great interest evoked in the study of animal nature.

Language : of a moral code.Such as the subject requires ; law code playing its own part.

Demerits : Himsā.Excessive attachment. Cf. Raghu. IX, 69.

Śukra has put *Himsā* in balance. In Śākuntala hunting comes to an end *because* the chase belongs to Āshrama (“आश्रममृगोऽयं”) and because the king has, later on, no desire to pursue the game (“काश्यपसुतामनुस्मृत्य मृगयाविह्वलं चेतः” ; and Cf. Śāk. II, 3.)* Accordingly *there is no question of Himsā with Kālidāsa*. We do not think that it would have been possible to write in *that* fashion after the proclamations of Asōka. We read in the eighth edict that in days past (“अतिक्रान्तमन्तरं”) the king went to hunting ; but as he became enlightened, *he left it off* in his tenth year, in preference to Dharmayātrās. The turn that the piety and goodwill running through those proclamations—those broad appeals—gave to the āchara and vyavahāra, must have permanently affected and changed in a certain sense the then current thoughts about Himsā and about Mṛgayā too. The strain in which Kālidāsa has written befits properly a pre-Asōka age. To write complacently about matters involving Himsā *after* the time of Asōka would have elicited, necessarily words of defence, explanations and justifications.

* That Brāhmins and ascetics were provided with forests which were considered ‘अभयवन’ by the State can be seen from Artha. pp. 49 (54) and pp. 122 (152). Hence the immunity that is claimed for the deer.

Even as it can be seen from his passing reference to the horse-sacrifice (in the *Mālavikā*. Act V—), words of this nature are entirely wanting. Glory of sacrifices had declined with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism; they went out of date after Asoka. Words spoken in favour of *Mṛgayā* do not show a stamp of strong thoughts about *Himsā* such as Śukra betrays. But this is not the whole and sole argument for getting at the date of Kālidāsa. We depend upon the *Arthaśāstra* mainly.

What a writer says, the language he uses, the way he thinks and the way he arranges them all, may be said to be the result of his mentality, of the circumstances and of the mass of floating ideas of his age. Accordingly, if coincidence is found in *every respect* between two authors, they ought to be counted as productions of one age; and *ad verbatim* repetitions of *individual* views may hint at the identity of their person also. To establish one authorship of *Raghuvamśa* and *Śākuntala* parallel passages would suffice. To prove one authorship for the different chapters of the *Arthaśāstra* parallel passages from each of them would be enough. Contradictory evidence is lacking on the point; therefore one authorship is justly proposed because we get such passages in all their works. The moves and counter-moves that we see in hunting are too much to occur to a mind obsessed with poetry writing, unless it itself had thought them out *beforehand* and unless it made them *its own*. They cannot be the outcome of *second-hand* thoughts. The present case is therefore not of simple incorporation because the *tune of one is the tune of the other*. Naturalness in writing and the unconsciousness with which the whole subject is treated, *betray an unity* of age and mentality. That it is so and not otherwise is left to be said by competent scholars who will study their works exhaustively referring to other works of literature comparing and contrasting them wherever it be possible.

On the strength of evidences (of which hunting is *one* of the many), it can safely be asserted that *they are contemporaries*. A step beyond it is only *a suggestion* for the present. Historical difficulty will be considered great; but this is an age when everything is in the melting pot. With a *revision* of the Ancient Indian Chronology it melts away like anything. The *Matsya-purāṇa*, ch. 272, 27 (Poona edition), informs us that Pushyamitra killed “बृहद्रथान्”. There is a vast difference between the name of a person, ‘Maurya’ and between “मौर्यान्”. In our humble opinion, by the plural “बृहद्रथान्” is intended the Magadha race of kings (called “मागधा ये बृहद्रथाः” Cf. *मत्स्य* ch., 271, 17 and 29) which (race) declined when the Pradyotas rose. The omission of the whole family of Pushyamitra from the chronological sequence *after* the Maurya kings and *shifting* of the date of Chandragupta

has given us sound results. But this is not the occasion to enlarge upon them.

We reserve our comments on the growth of various systems depicted in the Arthaśāstra on the state and stage of society which they represent, on the language, on Kauṭilya's conventions for an unity in expression and uniformity in understanding, on the freshness of his outlook and on the limitations of an author. The Arthaśāstra exhibits exceptional frankness, deep scholarship and rare clearness of expressions. It therefore gives a scope to the thoughts on subjects just recounted. Only a survey of the arguments on hunting furnishes a brilliant illustration. Hunting *in itself* is not an ever-recurring topic to get into a conventional cast. As a vyasana, it necessarily breathes convention. A different treatment by Piśuna added to it his own stamp. Kauṭilya did even more, as circumstances and his times permitted his genius; and so far, his stamp is of nobody else either in thought or in language. The evils recounted by Piśuna naturally arise when the course of hunting lies in an untrod jungle; and they must have been usual in his times. But as soon as the jungles get previously cleared or *reserved forests are either created or preserved*, the dangers vanish of their own accord. That such had been the course of things or that it was rendered such under the *regime* of Kauṭilya can be inferred from the code of laws with respect to the *game-forests*. But the dictum, pronouncement and revision, belongs to him alone; because he, for the first time, *expressed* what was untold and what remained unexpressed till then. He introduced a *freshness* in the subject and that very freshness is found in the works of Kālidāsa. That is what has been characterised before: "The tune of the one is the tune of the other." Let us see an another instance of it.

The policy to be pursued towards a new king is given in the Mālavikā. I, 8. It is said to be just according to 'Śāstras' and in accordance to the opinion of 'Tantrakāra.' The same idea is expressed in the Artha., pp. 326 (396) where it occurs in a paragraph giving the *personal opinion* of Kauṭilya. It should be noted however, that Kauṭilya gives his views in that place on the *relative* merits and demerits of a new king, as against the dictum of the Āchāryas on them; and *not exclusively* on the nature and possibilities of a newly installed king. In doing so, he only groups together all the arguments; it need not be presumed that each argument of the group proceeds originally from him. They belong to him; but *all in a body*. The difference is a sharp one but it must be noted as such; because a new king, his Prakṛtis and the way to deal with them are standing problems of political science and as such they are conventional topics. In the discussion, Kauṭilya has, on the whole, preferred a diseased king to a new king. In the Mālavikā-

kāgnimitra, we realize how the new king loses his kingdom, bringing about danger to his own person; and in Raghu. XIX, we see how the interests of a diseased king, and those of the state are watched and guarded by ministers. The burden that is put upon them, the responsibilities that are imposed upon them can be gleaned by a perusal of the Artha. pp. 254 (315) ff.† As a supplement to the whole, it may be noted that the danger from ministers next to that of the king, rank supreme in the eyes of Kauṭilya. [Cf. Artha. pp. 322 (391), ff.]. These are identities which make the tune of one the tune of the other.

We now come to further illustrations, first of which refers to the diseased king in Raghu. XIX.

“वाढमेष दिवसेषु पार्थिवः कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने ।

इत्यदशितरुजोऽस्य मन्त्रिणः शश्वद्भुवश्शङ्किनी प्रजाः ” ॥ ५२ ॥

Artha. pp. 252 (315). “The minister shall thus avert the calamities in which the king is involved; long before the apprehended death of the king, he shall in concert with his friends and followers allow visitors to the king.....under the plea that the king is engaged in performing such rights as are calculated to avert national calamities or are destructive of enemies or capable of prolonging life or procuring a son”; “[pp. 33 (38)”. Hence when the queen attains the age favourable for procreation priest shall offer..... requisite oblations.

Further:

“तं गृहोपवन एव संगताः पश्चिमक्रतुविदा पुरोधसा ।

रोगशान्तिमपदिश्य मन्त्रिणः संभृते शिखिनि गूढमादधुः ” ॥ ५४ ॥

Artha. Cf. the above passage and also pp. 15 (17)...“and who (priest) can prevent calamities providential or human by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the Atharvaveda, the king shall employ as high priest.” Cf. Raghu. I, 60, 63.

Moreover:

“तैः प्रकृतप्रकृतिमुख्यसङ्ग्रहेराशु तस्य सहधर्मचारिणो ।

साधुदृष्ट्युभगभलक्षणा प्रत्यपद्यत नराधिपश्रियन् ” ॥ ५५ ॥

Artha. pp. 254—6 (315—7). “The minister shall...(etc. as given above).....” Thus, says Kauṭilya, “the minister shall invest himself with the powers of sovereignty.” “Not so,” says Bhāradvāja, “the king lying on his death-bed.....the minister shall himself take possession of the kingdom.” But it is, says Kauṭilya, “unrighteous to do an act which excites popular

fury; nor is it an accepted rule. He shall, therefore, instal in the kingdom such a son of the king.....in the absence of a prince of good character, he may place before himself a wicked prince, a princess, or the pregnant queen.....and shew him or her to all the royal relations as well as to the messengers coming from friends or enemies.....he may instal a child begotten on the princess.....”*

The position that the high priest enjoyed at different times, can be seen from the following references :—

कादम्बरी p., 207. बाह-1, -13, -313, मनु.-VII, -78.

गौधम् (Poona ed.) II, 2, 12-17 with the *ṭikā*.

Śukra. II. 69, 74, 78-80.

Artha. pp. 15 (17); 207 (261); 362-3 (436); 208 (262); (Cf. Raghu. I, 6; XVII, 81); 209 (263); 210 (264); 16 (17), (Cf. Raghu. I, 61, XVII, 77); 321-2 (391), (Cf. Raghu. I, 60); 331 (401); 260 (322); 33 (38); (Cf. Raghu I, 65-72) and 39 (44).

Śāk.-Portions between Vss. 5 and 12 of Act V; Cf. Artha. pp. 39 (44). Cf. Śukra. IV, 5, 21.

Raghu. I, 59-64, 65-74; VIII, 4; XIX, 54; and I, 34-5.

[The language and thoughts should be well compared and contrasted].

Bāṇa condemns the Purohita and the system of Kauṭilya.† It must have taken many a century for the system to rot and for the Purohita to degenerate. The pictures that the Daśakumara gives are different from those of either Kauṭilya or Kīlidāsa; they alone richly deserve the censures of Śukanāsa.

The final illustration (in this article) points out the use of technical terms. It should be noted that they fall in the chapter on the *Tantrayukties*.

“रात्रिदिवविभागेषु यदादिष्टं महोश्चिताम् ।

तत्सिंहे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः” ॥ ४९ ॥ *Raghu. XVII.*

“विभज्य नक्तन्दिवमस्ततन्द्रिणा । वितन्यते तेन नयेन पौरुषम् ॥ *Kirāta I, 9.*

* The consistency of views held respectively by Kauṭilya and Bhāradvāja and the difference which therefore creep in their systems can be marked well by a perusal of Artha. pp. 255-7 (316-18), pp. 322 (391) and from the host of merits sought in the ministers (in Artha. pp. 13 (14) ff.) selected by the king.

† p. 207 “किं वा तेषां सांप्रतं येषामतिनृशंसप्रायोपदेशनिवृणं कौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणम् । अभिचार-क्रियाकुरैकप्रकृतयः पुरोधसो गुरवः” ॥ etc. Contrast on Artha. pp. 362 (435) the rule about relatives and pp. 329 (398) ideas about wealth. Cf. Daśakumāra throughout.

Cf. The Artha.

pp. 311 (378) “नियोगविकल्पसमुच्चयैश्चोपायानामनन्तरैकान्तराः प्रकृतिस्साधयेत्” ॥

pp. 37 (42) “तस्मादुत्थानमात्मानं कुर्वीत । ... अहः ... रात्रि च विभजेत्” ।

pp. 38 (43) आत्मबलानुकुल्येन वा निशाहर्भागान्प्रातिविभज्य कार्याणि सेवेत” ॥

pp. 430-1 (519) in the last chapter on the तन्त्रयुक्तिः; ... “एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः ।

.....अनेन वाऽनेन वेति विकल्पः । ... अनेन चानेन चेति समुच्चयः” ॥

and pp. 362 (435) “गुरुलाघवयोगाच्चापदां नियोगविकल्पसमुच्चया भवन्ति । अनेनैवोपायने नान्येन इति नियोगः । अनेन वाऽन्येन वा इति विकल्पः । अनेनान्येन च इति समुच्चयः” ॥ §

§ This paper was read before the first Oriental Conference at Poona.

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY DR. RADHAKUMUD MUKERJI, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

(Read before the Mythic Society.)

This paper deals with the very interesting educational evidence furnished in the Smritis or Hindu legal literature proper. The evidence is very fully presented in the Digest of Hindu Law prepared by Colebrooke from which the following account is taken :—

The law-books have to discuss the relations between the teacher and the taught in connection with the question : To what extent or under what circumstances those relations can become the subject-matter of suits or legal proceedings ?

According to Nārada, "when a man yields not the obedience he has promised, it is called a breach of promised obedience which is a title of law." Persons bound to obedience are in law declared by the learned to be properly of four kinds, *viz.*, those for science, human knowledge, love or pay—" (Brihaspati). Of these the first class is comprised by the pupils proper who seek the acquisition of knowledge of 'science' *i.e.*, of the Vedas and the like while the second class by the apprentices or the technical students who seek the acquisition of skill in arts or 'human sciences' (Nārada).

'The wise have declared their general dependence' (*Ib.*), which means that they are not their own masters, but are themselves subject to masters. This may further mean that they are incapable of acquiring wealth for themselves as pupils, or are liable to punishment for violation of their master's commands.

Brihaspati describes the subjects of study of the pupil proper to be the triple Science, Rik, Yajus and Sāma-Vedas. 'For these let him pay obedience to a spiritual teacher, as directed by the law.' This means that, as the commentator points out, 'he who yields it not may be reproved or chastised by the teacher, and the preceptor offends not.'

The infliction of punishment as a disciplinary measure on the pupil by his teacher is held to be perfectly legal. 'In case of strife between teacher and pupil.....their mutual litigation is not legal' (Smṛiti). The teacher's right to punish is also emphasised by Manu who also gives directions for its exercise by way of indicating its limiting conditions which it would be illegal for the teacher to transgress. 'A pupil may be corrected when he commits

faults with a rope or the small shoot of a cane but on the back part only of his body, and not on any noble part by any means.' Says Gautama : ' The correction of a pupil for ignorance or incapacity should be given with a small rope or shoot of a cane; the teacher shall be punished by the king, if he strike with any other instrument.'

The law books contemplate the contrary possibility of the case of a pupil striking his preceptor. (Cf. the recent occurrence of such an event in the Presidency College, Calcutta.) Such an offending pupil will, according to Yājñavalkya, have his punishment equal to that of the highest scale of crime.

The meaning of these regulations is very well explained by Vijñānēśvara. According to one regulation cited above *all* litigation between teacher and pupil is illegal. The fact of the matter is ' that a suit preferred before the king is irregular, and, preferred by the teacher against his pupil, is forbidden. But if the pupil violate his duty and the teacher being weak is not able to correct him it is consistent with common sense that he should then apply to the king; for, by violating his duty the pupil absolutely becomes *Pāṣaṇḍa* or irreligious.' The litigation of teachers and the rest is not laudable, either in a moral or Civil Law; ' therefore pupils and others should, in the first instance, be discouraged by the king or the court. But in very important cases the suits of pupils may be entertained in the form mentioned.' Thus, in regard to punishment, ' If a teacher from an impulse of wrath, strike his pupil, with a great staff on a noble part (of his body), then should the pupil, hurt in a manner contrary to Law complain to the king; there exists a subject of litigation.'

The duties of studentship are thus stated : ' until he acquires the science, let the student diligently obey his preceptor, his conduct should be the same towards the preceptor's wife and his son'; ' afterwards, performing the stated ceremonies on his return home, and giving to his instructor the gratuity of a teacher, let him return to his own house. This conduct is prescribed to the pupil.' (Nārada.) Violation of duties under these injunctions cannot be subject-matter of litigation. The commentator has the following explanation : ' The suit of a teacher, if his gratuity be not paid, is not mentioned by any other *author*; but here is the pupil's fate, if he pay not a gratuity to his instructor.' Obedience to the teacher implies the pupil's dependence on him, so that ' he should not go anywhere, nor consume anything, without his preceptor's orders; and what he acquires by labour should be delivered to the teacher'—As Yājñavalkya puts the matter : "when called let him study; and deliver what is gained to his teacher." The commentator takes this to be a moral ordinance. The pupil has the legal right to give away to any one he pleases either his paternal property

or property acquired by him during his minority, though if it is given away without the knowledge or the consent of his teacher there will be a violation of his moral duties. The pupil must also perform other labour in his preceptor's house—'As Yājñavalkya puts it, "Let him constantly promote his teacher's benefit, by every exertion of mind, speech, body and action."

We shall now discuss the duties of the *technical* students and the relations between the apprentices and the master-craftsmen.

In common with the pupils proper, the first duty of the technical student like the general student is to stay with his master in his house. [He is thus described by Brihaspati: "Arts, consisting of work in gold, husbandry and the like, and the art of dancing and the rest are called *human* sciences; let him who studies these perform work in his teacher's house." This indicates the technical subjects or crafts that were usually taught. According to the commentator, "in the expression 'gold, husbandry and the like' are comprehended work in wood, traffic and the rest. Dancing and the like include singing and so forth". He also remarks that 'skill in business which requires study but is different from *sacred* science is *human* knowledge.'"]

There are rules regarding the admission of apprentices. In the first place the period of apprenticeship is to be mutually agreed to and legally fixed. In the second place, the kinsmen or the guardians of the proposed apprentice must consent to the transaction and be parties to the agreement. Says Nārada: "Let him who wishes to acquire *his own art*, with the assent of his kinsmen, reside near an instructor, fixing a well-ascertained period of apprenticeship".

This passage further shows that the subject of his study was not the free choice of the apprentice. It was determined by the calling of his caste. ['*his own art*'—the art suitable to his class (Vivādaratnākara)]. Indian industry developed upon the basis of hereditary skill and craftsmanship.

The period of the apprenticeship is to be 'well-ascertained' *i.e.*, 'by the attestation of witnesses.' (Vivādaratnākara).

The duties and obligations of the apprentice thus admitted, and of his master are precisely defined and regulated. Says Nārada: "Let the teacher instruct him, giving him a maintenance in his own house; and not employ him in other work, but treat him as a son". To this Katyāyana adds: "He who does not instruct his scholar in the art and causes him to perform other work shall incur the first amercement; and the pupil is therefore released."

Thus the first duty of the master is to make his apprentice an *antevāśī*, a resident of his own house and to allow him a maintenance, his own benefit being 'the performance of a duty, reputation gained and some profit', as explained by the commentator.

Next, he must treat him as a member of his family with due tenderness and affection, 'as a son and not like a slave to be employed at pleasure.' The relationship between the two must be lifted on to the spiritual plane and must not be a mere commercial connection.

Thirdly the teacher must honestly and properly instruct his apprentice in the art. As the commentator points out, "the teacher who having promised instructions, but either employing the scholar much on other work, or, acting from impulse of wrath, does not teach him the art, shall incur the first amercement; and the pupil may forsake him and go to another teacher."

As is indicated in these texts and comments, the fourth duty of the teacher is to offer his apprentice every facility in learning his craft by making him perform in his house and workshop only such work as is 'relative to the art to be learned by him (as the manufacture of golden vessels and the like in the house of an instructor who works in gold.)' The teacher 'is forbidden to employ him in business inconsistent with instruction and occupying much time, such as travelling to many places, thatching a house, and the like.'

The teacher violating these rules is fined and the contract or relationship between him and his apprentice is cancelled.

Similarly, the apprentice has also his own duties and obligations which he cannot violate with impunity. In the words of the commentator, 'if the teacher instruct him to the best of his knowledge and do not employ him in other work, then the pupil forsaking his teacher and going to another shall be chastised.' Says Nārada: "But he who deserts his teacher though instructing him and not culpable shall be compelled by forcible means to reside with him and is liable to stripes and confinement." The manner of the corporeal punishment is to be as laid down in the law *i.e.*, the teacher should not hurt a noble part of the body and should strike only with a "small rope or shoot of a cane" as prescribed for the correction of the pupil proper who is similar to the apprentice in all respects except only in the motives of their study: 'the pupil studies the Veda on account of duty; the apprentice learns an art for the sake of wealth.' The cause of the chastisement may be ignorance or incapacity shown as well as unlawful desertion. Now this desertion may take place in two ways. The kinsmen whose consent to the apprenticeship is necessary may withdraw the boy before the expiry of its stipulated period, in which case a suit may be maintained, and the teacher is given the right to seek legal remedies. So long as the kinsmen do not withdraw the boy, he is liable to correction by the teacher according to prescribed methods. Where an apprentice having no kinsmen deserts his master unlawfully on his own account the master has no other alternative than to seek legal remedies for the wrong done to him by his pupil's violation of contract.

The other obligations of apprenticeship under the indenture are thus stated in the legal texts : " Though he have learned his art, the apprentice must fulfil his stipulated time ; and the profit of his labour during that period shall belong to his teacher." [Nārada.] Again " though he had acquired his art, the apprentice must reside in his master's house during the period stipulated, receiving his subsistence from the teacher, and giving him the fruit of his art " [Yājñavalkya.]

These texts have been differently interpreted. According to some, the meaning is that ' if, through an aptitude to learn (why not also of the superior efficiency of the teaching ?) the pupil become perfectly instructed in his art before the expiration of his apprenticeship he shall nevertheless serve his master the full time ' and during that time the teacher has ownership even in what the pupil acquires by voluntary *exertion* in traffic and the like, independent of his art, and by agriculture or some other means, and by treasure-trove or other *accident*. ' But others allege, as a custom, that the fruit of what is *done* through the means of the teacher (*in consequence of instructions*) belongs to him ; but in the case of treasure-trove and the like the find is taken by the pupil. According to Jīmutavāhana, the pupil has in every instance a right to retain what is acquired by himself.'

When the apprenticeship terminates according to the terms of its indenture, the apprentice is to pay to his master as much as he can as a reward of his services and takes his permission to return home. The term of apprenticeship is however renewable if the pupil finds at the expiry of the first term that his training is not quite complete. We have on this point the text of Nārada : " At the expiration of the period the apprentice, having acquired his art, and formally delivering to the teacher the best reward in his power departs with his permission."

On this Hindu system of technical education the following remarks I made elsewhere may be quoted :—

' The above rules bring out several important and interesting features. In the first place, there was the system of indenture under which the apprentice and the master were bound to each other for a fixed period stated in the deed. As Vīramitrōdaya points out, the teacher must make an agreement in this form, ' Let this apprentice stay with me so and so long.' In the second place the indenture emphasises equally and fairly the obligations of both the master and the apprentice. As regards the obligations of the master, he had to adopt the apprentice as his own son and treat and feed him as such. He should teach him whole-heartedly and honestly. The master was competent to make him do the work strictly related to the craft he was learning but not competent to exploit his labour or skill by employing it for purposes unconnected with it.

While making him work thus, he should not treat the apprentice as a hired labourer, but like a son, with due tenderness and affection. Equally strict were the obligations under which the apprentice was bound to his master. If through the master's efficient training he attains proficiency in the craft before the expiry of the period stipulated for in the indenture, he was not competent to leave the master, but had to serve out his full term, cheerfully yielding to him the fruits of his labour as the reward or compensation for the saving of time effected by the superior skill of the master in teaching. Yājñavalkya [II. 187] states the same condition thus: even if the apprentice has learnt the art (within the prescribed time) he must live in the house of his master for the full period of contract. The student desirous of learning an art, who has received his board from the teacher, must make over to the latter the fruits of his labour (during the period of his pupilage). Thus, Yājñavalkya justifies the master's appropriation of the results of all work done by his pupil during his apprenticeship as a sort of compensation for the expenses he incurs in giving him free board, lodging and tuition—the master was also empowered to compel the return of a runaway apprentice, whom he could flog or confine for his disobedience, provided such disobedience or desertion was not by way of protest against any moral sin or heinous crime committed by the master. This is no doubt a characteristically Hindu provision securing the moral purity of craftsmen to which modern industrial legislation is hardly sufficiently attentive. There is again another provision for the payment by the master to the pupil of a salary adequate to his proficiency if he desired to retain his services, in which case the first claim upon his services belongs to his master. Lastly, the pupil is recommended to be always humble before his master in the following quaint exhortation! 'For science is like a river, ever advancing to a humbler level; therefore as one's knowledge grows broader and deeper one should become ever more humble towards the source of one's knowledge (Nārada V. 12).

This exhortation is indeed symbolical and characteristic of the sacred and spiritual relations* that normally obtained between the master-craftsman and his apprentices—relations which were the direct outcome of the peculiar educational system and environment under which they worked. To these wholesome relations, and especially to the superior educational efficacy of the system which produced them is to be traced the signal success which is admitted on all hands to have been achieved by the handicraftsmen of ancient and medieval India, and which so largely enabled her to command, for much

* Cf. Mahavagga I. 32, 1:

"The achariya, O shikkhus, ought to consider the antevāsika as a son; the antevāsika ought to consider the achariya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life, will progress, advance, and reach a high stage in this doctrine and discipline.

I prescribe, O shikkhus, that you live (the first) ten years in dependence on an achariya....."

more than a thousand years (from Pliny to Tavernier) the markets of the East, as well as the West, and secured to her an easy and universally recognised pre-eminence among the nations of the world in exports and manufactures." We are, however, more concerned with the system than its success, with the methods of training than their results, the character of the educational machinery and organisation than the record of its magnificent output. The essence of the whole scheme or system, the fundamental feature on which it rests, is that the young craftsman is brought up and educated in the actual workshop of his master whose disciple he is, although the master may sometimes be even his father. This means that the pupil stands in a peculiar relation to his master, a sacred relation of devoted personal service and attachment in which alone can the learner best imbibe and most naturally and spontaneously assimilate the special excellences of his teacher, his true inward method, nay, even his trade secrets which can no longer be hidden from one whom he has adopted as his son. The very intimacy and depth of the personal relationship between the teacher and the taught solves substantially the difficulties of the educational process, which is impossible in the case of the busy professor of a modern technical school where he is concerned with his students for a few hours in the week, and has no opportunity of associating them with his main business in which he is called upon to show his real worth and exercise his best talent. And this brings us to the other aspect of our indigenous organization, *viz.*, training in the actual workshop where the teaching is learnt from the very beginning and in relation to real things, difficulties, and problems, and primarily by service, by personal attendance on the master. And it is not only technique that is learnt, but something more valuable: in the workshop there is life itself, besides more plant and tools, for the workshop is part of a home, which relieves its mechanical monotony and places the pupil in touch with life and its difficulties, human relationships, culture and religion, whereby his heart is trained as much as his hand—a thing which is as necessary to art as technique itself.*

We have in the legal literature another kind of interesting educational evidence in connection with the discussion of property which is not subject to partition. An example of such property is 'wealth acquired by learning' as stated by Manu—other law-givers describe the various means by which wealth can be acquired by learning and the description thus necessarily acquaints us with some typical facts and features in the intellectual life of the times and some characteristic educational institutions.

* Some of the excellences of this domestic education are very well brought out by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his *Indian Craftsmen* from which I have received valuable hints and suggestions.

The following texts of Kātyāyana will speak for themselves :—

(1) What has been acquired by learning, after instructions received from a stranger, and a maintenance provided by one of a different family, is called wealth gained by learning.

(2) What is gained by proving superior learning, after a prize has been offered by some third person, must be considered as the acquisition of a scholar, and ought not in general to be divided among co-heirs.

(3) So what has been received as a gift from a pupil, as a gratuity for the performance of a sacrifice, as a fee for answering a question in consistory or for ascertaining a doubtful point of law; or what has been gained as a reward for displaying knowledge or for victory in a learned contest, or for reading the Veda with transcendent ability.

(4) Such wealth have the sages declared to be the acquisition of science, and not subject to distribution; and the law is the same in regard to *literary* or *elegant* arts, and to increase of price from superior skill in them.

(5) A prize which has been offered for the display of superior learning and a gift received from a votary for whom a sacrifice was formerly performed, or a present from a pupil formerly instructed, sages have declared to be the acquisition of science: what is otherwise acquired is the joint property of the co-heirs.

(6) Even what is won by surpassing another in learning, after a stake has been deposited, Brihasapati pronounces the acquisition of knowledge and impartible.

(7) What is obtained by the boast of learning, what is received from a pupil or for the performance of a sacrifice, Bhrigu calls the acquisition of science.

(8) Yet, Brihaspati has ordained that wealth shall be partible if it was gained by learned brothers who were instructed in the family by their father, or by their paternal grandfather or uncles.

In case of increment to paternal wealth, the acquirer gets a double share according to the following text of Vasiṣṭha.

(9) He among the brothers who singly acquires wealth shall take a double share of it.

Narada mentions a distinction in the case of Vidyādhana (gains of learning) of a certain kind.

(10) He who, be he ever so ignorant, maintains the family of a brother while engaged in study, will share the wealth which that brother may gain by his learning.

Thus these texts point to a variety of institutions through which the spread of learning and culture was promoted.

In (1) we have a reference to the normal method of imparting instruction to a pupil who has to leave his parental home and maintenance and live with his chosen preceptor who gives him free board, lodging and tuition. But though usual and ordinary, this particular mode of the acquisition of learning in which the pupil is not supported during the period of his tuition by his paternal property has, as shown in the text, important legal consequences to the material gains which he may subsequently realise from his learning.

In (8) is indicated the parallel practice of giving to boys education in their own houses, the preceptor being their father, grandfather or uncle. The special proficiency shown by a particular son with the necessarily superior earning power it gives to him, is duly recognised by law, as shown in (9).

In (10) we have a reference to the third variety in the methods of educational organisation where a preceptor would not admit a pupil for his inability.

In the text (2)—(6) are indicated various types of learned debates and dialectical contests with the different forms of recognition given to intellectual primacy.

In (2), the intellectual contest or examination is held, and the superiority of learning is to be proved, in the field of *Upanyāsa* which is 'explained in the *Madanaratna* to be the recitation of the Vedas in the several modes of stringing together the different *padas* or words such as *Krama*, *Jaṭā*, etc. Others say, it means the exposition of abstruse topics in an assembly' [*Vyāvahāra-Mayūkha**]. The prize of victory offered is in accordance with established tradition and approved precedent and practice as shown in *Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

In (3) there is reference to various kinds of intellectual competition and competence. The principal sources of the preceptor's property are indicated. They are the presents of pupils and the fees for performing sacrifices paid by a votary. Thus, the two usual occupations of a learned Brahman were teaching and priest-craft. Next, there is a reference to controversial social questions (*praśna*) in the solution of which learned men found opportunities of proving their merit and honourably earning money. According to the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* the *Praśna* as a source of the gain of learning is that relating to the determination of the suitable attainment or *prāyaścitta* for the minor sins. (*Upapātaka*.) This indicates the specialisation of some learned men in social legislation. Thirdly there is a reference to the settlement of doubts of a person regarding the meaning of a particular ordinance and

* क्रमवृत्तानां सङ्कलितानां पाठ इति मदनरन्ते । सभायांगूढप्रमेयविवृतिरितिकोविद् । The *Smṛiti-Chandrikā* explains it as वर्गव्यागादि वैचित्र्येणोपन्यस्ते ॥

deciding a question of law between two contending parties who apply for an award (*Mitākṣara*). Thus some learned men specialised in law, served on the *Pariṣads* and found ample means of livelihood from a legal career. Narada's text pictures to us a dutiful brother, himself devoid of learning, anxious for the learning of a more promising brother whom he supports at school by his own self-sacrifice which is duly recognised and rewarded in law.

In (3) and (5) is indicated the time honoured Hindu institution of paying voluntary fees to the preceptor for all the pains and expenses he undergoes in educating his pupil. In fact the usual source of the preceptor's property and maintenance is the presents of his pupils whether just discharged from their studentship or formerly instructed. In the case of the latter we have another proof of the abiding cordiality of the relations between the teacher and the taught which are cultivated with so much care under so many regulations during the period of the tuition and are expected to continue beyond it and indeed lasted through life.

Besides the school for the young or the pupils proper, we have in the other texts references to institutions of a higher type meant for the advancement of learning of and by the elderly and mature scholars through the opportunities they afford of varied and vital academical intercourse. The friction of minds is necessary for sharpening their powers and strengthening their grasp of truth which must not remain only as a matter of one's subjective realisation. The mastery of truth has to be proved by objective standards and established against external criticism. It is on this sound principle of pedagogics that the Nyāya Philosophy has laid down *Suhritprāpti* as one of the aids to the acquisition of knowledge. Truth must triumph over all attacks—Hence the remarkable development in all ages of Indian culture-history of these characteristically Hindu institutions of academic gatherings for the purpose of holding intellectual tournaments, these philosophical conferences and science congresses which were known to India as early as 1000 B.C. as shown by the evidence of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *upaniṣads* or giving 'consultations' and opinions (somewhat like the 'chamber practice' of lawyers in modern times.) Sometimes again a young scholar would have his learning and ability recognised by others and so would be selected for gifts by the wealthy acting on the public opinion about him. Sometimes victory in a *Vāda* explained as a 'contest' relative to sacred literature or any other learned controversy would be amply rewarded. There is again a reference to cases where something is proposed to be given away for which there are many deserving competitors. In such cases *Prādhyanam* i.e., ability in reciting the Veda would be adopted as 'the standard for determining superiority of

learning.' Some take *Prādhyaṇam* to be not superior recitation of the Veda but excellent culture in it, such as the recital of one *sākhā* of the Veda in one day. It may also mean recital of the Puranas and the like. As regards intellectual contests, the commentators draw attention to the fact that sometimes a prize may be previously announced for victory or 'display of superior learning'; or sometimes, though no such prize may be offered, the victor may win his due reward from a rich man in the assembly moved to make a gift by 'the satisfaction afforded to him by overcoming an adversary in disputation.' Such kinds of spontaneous literary patronage must have been of very usual occurrence in the academic life of the country when they have been noticed in the Law books as constituting a source of income to the learned men. Wealth could always be depended upon to come forward in support of learning. Again, 'a fee for answering a question in consistory (*Praśna*)' is sometimes explained as 'a reward received on account of the gratification afforded by the solution of a question. For instance, a man possessing immense knowledge attends a universal monarch and discusses a question proposed by him; though he does not gain the victory (for even in controversy a conqueror of worlds is invincible) yet, spreading lustre over the assembly, he receives a reward from the monarch.' Regarding *Prādhyaṇam*, some commentators take objection to its meaning as merely 'reading the Veda with transcendent ability.' Their view is that the wages of mere transcribers, and generally the fee received from the audience for reading the Veda, *Purāṇam* and the like, without transcendent skill in poetry, and in explaining the sense of poems, and other similar gains, according to Chandeśvara and the rest, are not the acquisition of science. In fact in all cases whatsoever wherein superior skill is required the wealth gained is technically denominated the acquisition of science. Otherwise it is simply wealth acquired by the man himself. The fees from *Prādhyaṇam* (whatever may be the right meaning of the term) regarded as a source of income to the learned point without doubt to that remarkable agency of popular education under which readings in the Vedas, *Purāṇas* and other sacred literature were organised by means of circles of competent scholars who specialised in such readings before the larger assemblies of the common people.

In (9) we see how property in the special gains derived from superior technical skill (such as that of painters, goldsmiths, and the like and even of gaming) is governed by the same laws as those applying in the sphere of liberal learning.

Along with the *vidyādhana* or gains of learning as acquired in the various ways explained above, the necessary implements or appliances of learning or of arts are also to be deemed impartible *e.g.* 'books and the like in the study

of the Vedas, etc., or 'pencils and tools' for the study of the Fine arts. Books are 'not to be shared by ignorant brethren, so what is adapted to the arts, belongs to the artists, not to persons ignorant of the particular art.'

The relationship of a teacher, a pupil or a priest has been given a distinct legal value in Hindu Law. According to Baudhāyana, on failure of all heirs claiming any sort of blood relationship, "the spiritual preceptor, the pupil or the priest engaged to perform sacrifices, shall take the inheritance." The *Acharya*, spiritual preceptor, is defined by Baudhāyana as "he who girds the pupil with sacrificial cord and instructs him in the Vedas." On failure of these heirs, the succession passes on to the fellow-student 'who studies the Veda under the same teacher.' According to the law as laid down by Gautama, the legal heirs may also include "persons allied by funeral oblations, family name and by patriarchal descent," but commentators differ as to whether this remote relationship in blood has precedence over the relationship in learning. At any rate it must be observed that the law accords a lower status to the spiritual relationship through learning than that given to it by the rules relating to Brahmacharya under which the preceptor is to be regarded as the equal of the pupil's parents as regards the reverence and obedience due from him. This equality was emphasised in a much earlier age when we find its recognition in a sūtra of Panini relating to the relationship of blood and learning—*Vidyāyonisambandha* to which is to be applied the same grammatical suffix.

The institution of the young pupil leaving his home and parents to live with his preceptor for education had its own legal consequences which are duly provided for. For it may so often happen that during this period of the pupil's tuition, 'wealth may descend to him by inheritance and become his property.' In such a case Manu thus lays down the law: "The king should guard the property which descends to an infant by inheritance until he returns from the house of his preceptor."

Lastly, the law relating to the inheritance of anchorites and devotees gives some interesting evidence. According to Yājñavalkya [II. 137] the heirs who take the wealth of a *Vānaprastha* (a hermit), of a *Yati* (an ascetic), and a *Brahmachari* are in their order the preceptor, the virtuous pupil (*Satsiṣya*), and one who is a supposed brother and belonging to the same order (*Dharmabhrātā* and *Ekatrithi*). Here we have a reference to some typical Hindu institutions—the term *Brahmachāri* points to the institution of perpetual studentship. The pupil who adopts this vow (of continuing as a student through life without marrying and entering upon the householder's state) is technically known as *Naiṣṭika*, the temporary student being called *Upākurvāṇa*. Next we have the term *Dharmabhrātā*, the spiritual brother,

the brother by religious duties. The term *Ekatīrthī* means one resident in the same holy place, *i.e.*, the same hermitage and hence pupil of the same preceptor [Vīramitrōdaya]. The Satsiṣya, virtuous pupil, is "he who is versed in the study of revelation concerning the supreme soul and in preserving that sacred science." Such a man is the most suitable for inheriting the effects of one whose teachings and practices and way of life would have a chance of surviving him through the successor. The wealth of the deceased is best utilised when it is consecrated to the ideals and purposes for which he lived and worked.

ANURADHAPURA.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

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THE city of Anuradhapura is famous as an ancient capital of the island of Ceylon, to the south of India. Ceylon itself is well-known as the abode of the great Rakshasa chieftain Ravana who was eventually subdued by the celebrated hero of the Ramayana, after erecting a bridge across the ocean and marching upon the island. Veddars represent the wild jungle tribes inhabiting the interior hilly tracts and, may be, they are the descendants of people whose deeds are immortalised by the sage Valmiki.

Origin of Ceylon.

It is said that the island of Ceylon took its name from 'Sinha' the son of a lion, that his grandson Wijaya came over from the mainland of India and established himself in the island in B.C. 543 and that Wijaya's followers intermarried with the original inhabitants, 'Yakko' or demons. Has this account any possible connection with the traditional conquest of Lanka by Rama and the establishment of the power of Vibhishana in Simhala and are the Yakkos the Veddars before us?

Monuments of Buddhism in Ceylon extend from the time of Asoka up to the present day. These remains are mostly found in a circle connecting Anuradhapura, Dambulla and Polonnaruwa, with some exceptions. This lecture is confined to objects of interest in the first-named city.

Anuradhapura.

Anuradhapura the oldest and the most famous of the ruined cities of Ceylon was the capital of Ceylon from B.C. 267 to A.D. 729. The journey towards Anuradhapura is just like railway—travelling in the Southern districts of the Madras Presidency, with this exception perhaps, that there is a touch of the malnad in it. The elevation is only 300 feet above the sea. The city was founded on a level plain, extending north by south with a spread more like modern London, with evidences of a civilisation comparable to recent rather than ancient times.

Origin.

The story of the founder of Anuradhapura, viz., King Pandukabhaya (B.C. 437) is more exciting than the legends of ancient Greece or of Krishna himself. Chitta had ten brothers and it had been foretold by a sooth-sayer that a son of Chitta's would kill the latter's brothers and usurp the throne.

Thereupon the uncles employed the traditional devices of putting an end to their sister's life but to no avail. They finally decided to shut her up in an apartment built on an only pillar. While she was thus spending her weary days in exile, a prince of the royal blood managed to find his way to this beautiful and lovely damsel with the result that the girl became pregnant. One of the brothers discovered these love intrigues but as the prince was of high degree, and it was found impossible to terminate their lives, an arrangement was arrived at by which the lovers were married on condition of surrendering if the expected child, turned out to be a boy, to be put to death. As may be anticipated, the expected child was a male. A peasant's daughter was miraculously substituted for the male child which was handed over to be brought up as a peasant's son. It is not possible to trace whether the daughter on being struck upon the rocks, flew into the air and announced that the slayer was growing in Brindavan but this much may be taken that our boy like Yasoda Krishna was nursed in a peasant's home, ultimately to kill his uncles and ascend the gādi. To continue the similarity between King Pandu and the Yadava Krishna, the maternal uncles of the boy, on learning of the trick played upon them, employed diverse ways of putting an end to the life of the boy but were unsuccessful. Once when the boy had gone out to bathe in a pond with his fellows, a royal order directed all the boys bathing in the pond should be put to death. The prince saved his life by going beneath the surface of the pond through the hollow of a tree. Many a time did he likewise effect his escape from the lairs of his enemies. He eventually grew to manhood and married a comely princess who could turn leaves into gold by her magic touch, like Midas of old. In course of time, this prince slew all his uncles except Abhaya in battle and became king. One disparity, however; Krishna's killing of Kamsa was to save mankind from a tyrant but King Pandu of Anuradhapura was himself an usurper to the throne, after the destruction of his maternal uncles.

To return from the digression, the foundation of the city of Anuradhapura was undertaken by King Pandu on the advice of a fortune-teller and it may have been so named, not as it is superstitiously believed from Anuraja or ninety kings but because it was founded under the constellation of Anuradha. It is, however, interesting to observe that the place is vulgarly called Anurajapura.

Anuradhapura was not one city but two, even as Bangalore at the present day with this difference that one city was within the other. There were four suburbs covering an area of about 256 sq. miles, the distance between the opposite gates being 16 miles, north to south. The palace and its surroundings, the chief structures of the monastic orders and huge dagabas were enclosed

within strong, fortified walls, provided with watch-towers and guards. The outer city was set apart for the lower orders and was also the business centre of the capital. One long street in this part had all sorts of shops and contained all trades and callings. In this street were 11,000 houses, many of 2 storeys. On the outskirts of the city were large plots of land kept apart for flower gardens. Westward of the palace was the great cemetery and the place of execution and torture. It is also stated that there were 500 scavengers and 200 nightmen, 150 corpse carriers, etc., with their residences on the north-west. On the north-east a village was formed for Nichichandalas who served as cemetery-men to the low castes. The dwellings of the royal huntsmen came on the north where the Gamini tank was also constructed. Brahmans and people of foreign religious faiths, about 500 in number, lived east of the cemetery.

It needs to be remembered that the period of these Ceylonese ruins, whose * slides are being exhibited on the canvass, is covered by authentic history while it is much to be regretted that it is not always so with reference to Indian architecture or Indian history.

Mahamegho.

Anuradhapura is famous for the conversion of its King Tissa by Mahinda into the present religion of the island. Mihintale or the sacred hill, 8 miles from Anuradhapura, was the scene of King Tissa's meeting the great apostle of Buddhism. He is said to have undertaken a miraculous flight from India to convey the gladsome news to the people of Ceylon and alighted on a big boulder on the hill. Under the orders of the king the entire distance from the City to the Hill was carpeted to protect pilgrims from soiling their feet. The highest staircase at Mihintale is beautiful. 'Overhanging trees throw green shadows on the worn stone and the shifting golden lights between may well be taken for the angel visitants.' 'Visions of the mighty Buddha overshadowing the island with his presence and of Mahinda his apostle, alighting on the topmost crag which towers up into the azure sky far overhead' recall to mind 'the familiar vision of Jacob.'

From Mahinda we are led on to the Mahamegho and the sacred Bo-tree. According to tradition, Tissa had heard of King Bimbisara of Magadha having presented the Royal Pleasure Garden to the Buddha and had made up his mind not to be behindhand in kingly generosity. The garden of Mahamegho, over 20 sq. miles in extent, was consequently made over to the monastic brotherhood. The palace and the elephant stables being insufficient to accommodate the people, the townsmen and the king went "to the

* The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides.

royal pleasure garden Nandana, situated without the southern gate, in a delightful forest, cool from its deep shade and soft green turf." As the chronicler in the Mahavansa says: "In the morning, notice having been previously given by beat of drums, the celebrated capital, the road to the chief priest's residence and the residence itself on all sides, having been decorated the lord of all chariots, decked in all the insignia of royalty, seated in his chariot, attended by his ministers and the women of the palace, and escorted by the marshal array of his realm, repaired to the temple constructed by himself, accompanied by this great procession." "There (on the western side of the spot where the Bo-tree was subsequently planted), furnishing a delightful royal palace with splendid beds, chairs and other conveniences in the most complete manner, the king said 'Do thou sojourn here in comfort'. The Mahamegho was dedicated to the priesthood, the limits being marked and ploughed by a golden plough. 'The superb State elephants, Mahapaduma and Kunjara, were harnessed to the golden plough,' while the king 'himself held the half of the plough.' 'Exquisitely painted vases, gorgeous flags tinkling with the bells attached to them, mirrors of glittering glass, festoons and baskets of flowers were carried in a procession; triumphal arches were made of plantain trees, women carried umbrellas and hundreds ran waving handkerchiefs; shouts of gratitude and festivity welcomed him from the four quarters of the earth". The position for 32 sacred buildings and the Thuparama dagaba were marked, their inner boundaries also, being defined. When 'the definition of all the boundary lines was completed, the earth shivered. The impressions of the Mahamegho on the mind of a visitor, even now, are bound to be of a permanent character. Wherever he goes in the great garden, he meets with fine stone columns, graceful and not unoften very imposing dagabas, beautifully constructed pokunas, figures of the Buddha, stone boats to preserve rice and medicine, delightful and shady walks, ever-green topes and here and there a canal irrigating vast areas of land. A Dasara visit is sure to remind us of the verdure of a well-kept lawn.

The Bo-tree.

After the royal demesne was dedicated for religious purposes, attention was turned to hallow the sacred ground with a relic of the Buddha. The planting of the sacred Bo-tree was therefore one of the earliest events in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. Its recorded history is more than 2000 years old. 'Since the ages before Christ, the tree has been tended, guarded and watered, and surrounded with the perfume of adoration and the atmosphere of prayer.' A branch of the tree under which the Buddha sat in prayer in India for 49 days, protected from wind and rain by the tender care

of a cobra which extended his hood to him for shelter, and received the Revelation, 'the saving truth for the benefit of Gods and man,' was inserted into a golden vase, where the branch severed itself from the parent stem and began to grow. Princess Sangamittha, in bringing this twig to Ceylon, occupied 7 days for the road journey, while the sea-voyage took another week. King Tissa received in state the Princess and her 11 attendants and escorted them to the royal palace 'through roads sprinkled with white sand and decorated with all kinds of flowers and lined with banners and garlands.' "At the hour when the shadows are most extended", in the ಗೋಧೂಲಿಗೃಹ (Gōdhūli i.e., when the cattle return home), the king approached the capital from the northern side and 'passing in procession out of the southern gate and entering the Mahamegho garden, came to the spot destined for the tree.' After the consecration of the plant, 'a heavy deluge of rain fell around and dense cold clouds completely enveloped the great Bo in its snowy womb for seven days' (ಶುಷ್ಕವೃಷ್ಟಿ).

Under the shade of the tree is a calm Buddha in the sitting posture, near a wooden lintel and posts. The tree was perhaps originally level with the ground, soil having been built upon as times advanced. The tree is very old and constantly mentioned in the Mahawansa. A temple is now built over it and a water festival held once in 12 years. The sacred Bo-tree is one of the 8 sacred spots or Athmasthanas of the Buddhist community. At the front of the temple as you enter the shrine is a Pillayar or Ganesha, said to have been installed by a Tamilian usurper, probably Elala, amidst Buddhist surroundings; it is even to-day worshipped in the shrine. The whole scene is very imposing. The flower sellers at the gate offering for sale varieties of lotus flowers, the crowds of reverent worshippers within, yellowclad priests explaining the objects round to you in an unknown language, a perpetual oil lamp burning from a time when the birth of Christ was not dreamt of and extending to the long nights of eternity and above all, a feeling in yourself that you are on an ancient sanctified ground belonging to a faith foreign to you but one which spread its wings through a half of Asia after it died out in the land of its birth!

The oldest historical tree in the world may be compared with others. According to Sir E. Tennant, 'compared with it the oak of Ellaslie is but a sapling, and the conqueror's oak in Windsor Forest barely number half its years. The Yew trees of Fountain Abbey are believed to have flourished there 1200 years age; the olives in the garden of Gethsemene were full grown when the Saracens were expelled from Jerusalem; and the Cypress of Sana, in Lombardy, is said to have been a tree in the time of Julius Cæsar; yet the Bo-tree is older than the oldest of these by a century and would almost

seem to verify the prophecy pronounced when it was planted, that it would "flourish and be green for ever" (Ceylon). The tree has in any case become sacred on its own account, exciting and 'inspiring the most careless with a passing feeling of reverence and prayer.' As you wend your way a little westwards from the sacred Bo-tree, at the Bazaar end, you will come across a collection of leaning columns and carved capitals in a barbed-wire enclosure. It is called the Peacock Palace; how it came to be called so, it is impossible to say. It may have been a temple or a vihara, at any rate not a palace.

On the other side of the Bazaar, near the fruit market you will find the ruins of the Ransimalakaya, sometimes used for a cattle pound.

Turning south-westwards from the Bo-tree, several tanks are met with, constructed from hewn stones and intended for bathing. These pokunas are very common in Anuradhapura and they form a very noticeable feature of ancient Ceylon.

Elala's Tomb.

Passing by these pokunas you will observe a big earthen mound known as Elala's tomb. The ruins are digging but nothing has been so far found. Elala or Elaro was a Chola chief who, with an army from Mysore, arrived with force and succeeded in establishing himself as King of Lanka (B.C. 205). In his reign of 44 years, he established a wise and liberal government and though not a Buddhist himself, did much to improve the national religion and continued many useful works. At the head of his bed was a bell, with a long rope ready to be pulled by the seeker after redress. It said that once, the king's son when on a hunting excursion to the Tissa-Tank, ran his chariot over a full grown calf and that its mother the cow, immediately rushed to the bell-rope and pulled it by falling upon it, whereupon the king appeared and, on hearing of the incident, struck off the head of the royal prince with the same wheel. The story may be a fib but it shows how Elala was anxious to do justice to his subjects. The rule of this Solomon in the island of Lanka did not extend to the country of the Rohuna across the Mahawelliganga. While Elala was thus ruling in Ceylon, Gemuna or Duthagamini, a member of the Royal line of Wijaya, was, even as a lad, fretting at his exile from power and vowed revenge against the Tamil usurper of a Singhalese throne. He marshalled a faithful rally of ten strong men and finally killed Elala in battle in 161 B.C. For the student of Ceylonese history, the details of this Homeric combat are vividly described in the Mahawansa. The slain hero Elala lies embalmed in a tomb which the monarchs to this day cannot pass by with music. Whether this was the 'Mysore king' referred to by Sir M. Visvesvaraya in one of our Annual

address or whether in subsequent centuries, a Mysore ruler attempted to emulate the inspiring example of Elala, it has not been possible for us to trace; and it is, singularly unfortunate that there is no extant reference on this side of the ocean to the part played by Mysore in the Tamil invasions of Ceylon to help us to a solution of this interesting question.

Isurumuniya Temple.

From Elala's tomb we go south to the Isurumuniya temple. This fine and interesting structure, attributed to King Tissa, is situated behind the Tank-bund. It is a great pity that modern workmanship and the art of renovation should chance to take away from the grandeur and sanctity of the ancient edifice. In this respect, we in India are not more fortunate: as witness the renovated temple of Kedareshvara at Halebid to mention only one instance. It may also be observed that the shrine at Isurumuniya is perched against the black rock on which it is placed in a very striking and effective manner. The image of Buddha inside is rock-cut but as in all Buddhist shrines in Ceylon, gilded. The naturalness is absent and there is an unfortunate artificial air about all preserved images of the Buddha in the island and this takes away from our appreciation of the art. In front of the image of the Buddha are cases on the altar to receive the offerings of pilgrims. Fine delicate work is noticeable on the panels and terrace, also on the big boulders overlooking the pokuna. The elephant figures are beautifully done, compelling attention. The carving on the rock reminds us of the rocks of Arjuna's penance and of Krishna lifting the Govardhanagiri in the Seven Pagodas. The sculptured tablet at Isurumuniya as you will notice is a good example of delicate and detailed carvings in Ceylon; a devout Hindu may recognise in them Siva and Parvati though they are relegated to a secondary place to adorn one of the minor shrines in the compound.

Tissa-Wewa.

From the temple to the tank behind is only half a furlong and perhaps even less. Wherever you may roam amongst the ruins of Anuradhapura you cannot help recognising the greatness of King Tissa (307-267 B.C.) and coming across his works for the benefit of his subjects. This 'beloved of the Gods,' Dewanampiya Tissa constructed the great Tissa tank. A channel Yoda Ela connects it with Kalaweiva, 56 miles away and 12 miles from Dambulla, one of the largest and most important of the restored tanks of ancient kings. On the landward side of the tank-bund is a little bathing pond and a dressing room cut out of the rock. We become, at the sight of it, not a little envious of the delightful facilities that the ancients provided for bathing and begin to long for such conveniences to us the degenerate descendants, of the good

old ancients. The beautiful surroundings of the open air are impressive. Were the Roman and Greek baths likewise?

'On the face of the rock, flanking the dressing-room on each side, is a most animated bas-relief, on one side, of elephants bathing amid lotus plants, and on the other, charging away frightened by a sudden scare.' This is an 'absolutely unique piece of sculpture' 'the most spirited and life-like to be seen anywhere among the ruins of Anuradhapura', dating perhaps from the days of Parakrama.

Amongst other boulders further on, "facing toward the lake, under an overhanging rock, is a curious circular diagram filled with mysterious symbols and having a procession of figures scratched on the circumference. The whole is so lightly done it looks as if it might be the work of some idle tourist of yesterday playing with a knife but it represents the scientific knowledge of some man who lived close on 1000 years ago may be, and the meaning of the fish, scorpion, tortoise and other sketches which suggest, but do not follow the signs of the Zodiac, were of deep significance to him. For here we have what may be one of the very earliest maps of the world. Needless to say, it is founded on the Buddhist cosmogony.

'The circle is six feet in diameter and has a double ring round the edge in which fish and crustaceans are represented—undoubtedly the ocean. The concentric circles, with their wide interspaces at the centre of the ring, can assuredly mean only the *sakvala*, in the centre of which rises Maha Meru surrounded by the seven seas and walls of rock which shut in that fabulous mountain. Sun and moon (in the second step) lie on either side of the *sakvala*; round about in space are scattered numerous other worlds represented by quadriseded circles. Below and around is the world of waters in which swarm gigantic uncouth denizens—fish, turtle, crab, chank and other marine fauna." (1901 Report.)

Turning to the Buddhist cosmogony what do we find as its main features? we find Meru as its central point, at various heights from it the six blissful seats of the Devas followed by sixteen seats where the perfect dwell. Beneath the earth there are eight great hells and thousands of smaller ones and going round the earth are to be observed the seven hills and the seven seas. There are four islands, in the southernmost of which men live and five hundred smaller ones occupied by heretics.

Whether there is any significance to be attached to this curious map in the light of the Buddhist cosmogony must be left to others to determine. It will be briefly referred to in the sequel in connection with the moonstones.

Mirasaveti Dagaba.

Let us retrace our steps from Tissawewa through the Isurumuniya

Temple back to the Hotel and proceed northwards cutting the Mihintale Road by a side path to the Mirasaveti Dagaba, one of the dagabas built in the second century B.C. by King Dutugemunu. It is earlier in date to either the Ruanweli or the Brazen Palace and the fourth largest dagaba in Anuradhapura, the others being the Abhayagiriya, Jetawanarama and the Ruanweli dagabas. The origin of Mirasaveti is interesting, reminding us of a superstition common enough amongst Hindus and evidently not unfamiliar to the Buddhist, himself a dissenter from the Hindu faith. The king was usually offering a portion of the food prepared to the monks before his partaking of it but one day he, forgetfully enough, ate a chillies preparation known as Miriswetiye (chilli sambal) without offering any previously to the monks. When he subsequently found out the mistake, he was afraid of a bad turn from the monks and in expiation of the sin, constructed this Mirasaveti dagaba. The finely decorated and high altars of this dagaba are a distinguishing feature of this 'rotund pile'. Heaps of monastic ruins impress on the mind of the visitor of their existence all round, down to the park on the shores of Basawak Kulam. The community of Miriswateya was by no means a very insignificant one and it certainly gained importance after Kashyapa V (A.D. 929—939) rebuilt and made some endowments to it, long after Anuradhapura itself had given place to Polannaruwa as the capital of Ceylon.

Basawak Kulam.

Basawak Kulam, previously mentioned, has been identified with the Abhaya tank. This was one of the lakes constructed to provide water to the city, said to date according to one account from B.C. 437 and according to another from B.C. 300.

Ruanweli.

To the east of the tank is situated the great Ruanweli or gold dust dagaba. This huge mass of solid brick-work looks like an inverted bowl. A small passage is said to take us to a secret chamber containing a relic. The stately and imposing nature of this structure will appear from the picture of the dagaba which is before you to-night. Ruanweli commemorates no great event like the Jetawanarama and the Abhayagiriya dagabas; it is a store-house of real relics. It is one of the 8 sacred places of Buddhism, the others being the Bo-tree, Brazen Palace, Abhayagiriya, Thuparama, Jetawanarama, Lankarama and the Mirisavati dagabas. It is only smaller than Jatawanarama and Abhayagiriya, being third in size: 178 feet 8 inches in height. King Dutugemunu built it about B.C. 161, labour being paid for. A plan for this imposing edifice was procured in the following manner: "The brick-layer, filling a golden fish with water and taking some water in the palm

of his hand, dashed it against the water (in the dish); a great globule in the form of a coral bead rose to the surface, and he said, 'I will construct it in this manner'."

Ruanweli has a very solid foundation. Round, big stones were first beaten in and trampled upon by elephants with padded feet to prevent breaking. The square platform in the middle is reached by a large passage all round and an extensive court over a 1000 feet wide, perhaps intended, if not used, for processions of elephants, etc. There are six rows of pillars on the outside; as if to support beams on the top. The raised central platform itself is over 500 feet on either side, supported at the base by 400 elephants, as may be seen in the picture. The height of each elephant is 9 feet and it is said that the elephants were coated with chunam and that ivory tusks were inserted into the holes in their jaws.

The dagaba is spread on a ground of over 5 acres in extent. The structure is being renovated at a cost of several lakhs by devotees like our own Kanchi and Rameswaram temples. The relics of this dagaba imparted peculiar sacredness to it, for they were the largest and the most important collection of relics ever preserved in any single place. Regal ornaments were deposited there and when the receptacle containing the precious relics were closed, people were permitted to drop their relics on the top of the shrine.

King Dutugemunu who had "maintained at eighteen different places hospitals provided with suitable diet and medicines prepared by medical practitioners for the infirm" died in 137 B.C. on a stone, fixing his stare on Ruanweli. The stone is shown on the east of the Pilgrims Road.

A miniature dagaba on the platform at Ruanweli provided the model for the larger relic-house. Every one was not allowed to enter the relic chamber. Laymen were shut out but King Bhattikabhaya (B.C. 19) was permitted admission into it because he had, by his several acts, endeared himself to the people and to the monastic brotherhood. Taxes due to the king had been remitted and the dagaba of Ruanweli converted into a Jasmine Boquet by festoons and flowers. A statue of this king in front of a stone pillar near Ruanweli is 8 feet high and has undergone all the ravages of the weather and time. Three other statues which are being worked up along with that of Bathiya Tissa I to be placed in a separate hall of Ruanweli represent 'the Buddhas and king Dutugemunu. Near these are some inscriptions, one of which belonging to the king Kerti Nissanka who 'decorated the city like a city of the gods,' and gave grants of land to the temple, etc., describes the ruined halls, altars and monuments of Ruanweli.

"The three terraces or pasadas round the base of the bell are about seven feet wide, and were used as ambulatories by the worshippers. The

uppermost terrace is ornamented with fore-quarters of kneeling elephants to the number of about 150. These are placed on the outer edge at regular intervals all round the dagaba. From the terraces the great hemispherical mass of brick-work was carried to the height of two hundred and seventy feet, including the tee or small spire. Its present appearance is a shapeless mound covered with trees sprung from stray seeds; but beneath those trees are the millions of bricks which were religiously and carefully laid 2000 years ago.

"The principal ornaments of the dagaba were the chapels or altars at the four cardinal points," now in a ruinous condition. Great wealth was spent in its decoration; several times the dagaba was partially destroyed but repaired.

Image Houses, etc.

Near-abouts Ruanwali, on the west particularly, in the 'park-like' and 'newly reclaimed' jungle surrounding it are found 'clusters of pillars with exquisitely carved capitals, as perfect as if they had recently left the hands of the sculptor', 'interspersed with the groups of trees that have been spread for picturesque effect.' These remains of image houses contain beautiful wing-stones, covered with makara and scroll, vying with the carved capitals in their excellent preservation; the fabulous monster forming the upper portion and the lion on the side still perfect in every particular.

One of these images or viharas is raised on a platform and approached by a moonstone and carved steps which arrest the attention of the visitor. I may remark that these moonstones are peculiar to Ceylon and do not exist in this shape and style anywhere else. Their origin is obscure. They have a distinctive feature of their own, though they are clearly influenced by Indian thought and follow Indian ideas to some extent. Are the details of architecture borrowed from the mainland? While the animal symbols are a particular feature of the Ceylonese style, in this respect its Indian counterpart is poor.

Moonstones.

"The moonstone is a semi-circular slab of stone, set at the foot of a flight of entrance steps and wonderfully carved. It is divided into concentric rings, first and outermost a narrow, conventional design, then a wider band in which a procession of animals—elephant, horse, lion and bullock—follow one another round, two complete sets of these animals and the elephant being thrice repeated, beginning and ending the procession, making nine figures in all." Elephants are exquisitely executed, full of fire and life, differing from each other in detail. Bullocks are passable but the lions are grotesque. Inside it is another floral scroll of artistic design and

within that again, a row of hansas or the sacred geese while in the centre is a half of a conventional lotus flower. " The slab is hewn from a solid rock and the figures are worked from left to right. The carving appears quite fresh and is alive with the spirit of the artist whose hand fashioned the life-like elephants and bullocks, the strange horses and the still stranger lions which run incessantly after one another in a race which began 2000 years ago and stretches into infinity.

The stones at Anuradhapura have the procession of mixed animals in the same order ; at the Bo-tree, the lion is omitted. Treading on the stones except with bare feet is forbidden and this probably accounts for their beautiful preservation.

In the moonstones of Polonnaruwa, there is a ring of floral design on the outside, then comes a row of small sacred geese and thirdly a most spirited row of elephants following each other trunk to tail and then a semi-circle of galloping horses with tasselled collars and unduly depressed bodies, resting on a further scroll which is broad and encloses the lotus centre. Curiously bulls or lions do not appear in these stones and it may be remarked that the lion which does not appear at the Bo-tree stone also is not a native to the soil. Fa Hian had about A.D. 400 heard of a temple in India, five storeys in height, with ' elephant figures, lion-shapes, horse-shapes, ox-shapes and dove-shapes,' the last representing the hamsa or sacred geese. To compare these with the friezes in the temples of Hoysala Architecture, the elephant frieze with riders and equipments comes below a frieze of sardulas or tigers, the Hoysala emblems; then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design. Above them the frieze of horsemen, and then a scene from the Hindu Mythology. Next come celestial beasts and birds and so on. It has to be noticed that the bulls are not found in these friezes. The flight of steps from these stones consists of 5 steps as can be seen from the picture. At the centre and on either side of each of these, you will find a squatting dwarf supporting the tread of your feet with considerable effort, as it were. These dwarfs are beautifully carved and clearly they were not serfs but liberati to judge from their decorations. Each dwarf holds a snake in his hand and reminds you of the familiar snake-touch. Is he the defender of temples and treasures, the Bhairava ?

To turn back for a while and looking at the map of the world at Tissawewa and the Buddhist cosmogony along with the disposition of the four beasts in a particular order on the moonstones, is it not possible for us to trace some connection between these and point to some astronomical significance even in these moonstones and suggest that the four beasts in these stones occupy the four cardinal points of the earth, viz., the lion in the north,

horse in the south, elephant in the east and bull in the west? Of course, the idea that these were used for hypnotism being called *yogi-stones*, may be rejected though possibly there is a prevailing superstition in the island to that effect. It is also interesting to observe that in Ceylon as well as in modern Hindu temples in India, where the animal friezes are to be seen, the succession of animals is the same—*makara*, *naga* and *hamsa*.

On the western side of Anuradhapura, we find fourteen groups of buildings, differing from the five of cards pattern met with in the older monasteries, built on rocky ground, the rock itself being first worked into the building, allowed for and adopted as in the Hoysala shrines. Platforms are raised with a delicacy of finish and mathematical precision that are unrivalled. We see here too, finely worked drawbridges to cross the moats between; Highly sculptured *mutragalas* or urinals; deep and wide moats with running water to keep the living rooms cool.

The residential quarters in these blocks may not all be religious edifices. Some of them may have been royal mansions while others were monasteries of a peculiar type. "What ascetical monks then once bore with the isolation and physical discomfort of habitations built on exposed sun-smitten rock, rather than accept shelter at better found, cool and shady monasteries, of gregarious, if less austere, brethren of the robe?" "The Buddhist monks who occupied the inclement rock-stretches, apart from other fraternities, may well have been a *Pansukulika* schism which had cut itself a drift from its Buddhist brethren, and shunned the haunts of men."

Thuparama.

From this neighbourhood we march on to the Thuparama Dagaba, the first of the large dagabas constructed in the Mahamegho by Tissa (307-267 B.C.). This fine white dome is supposed to have been the original relic of the collar bone of the Buddha. The diameter of the base of this bell-shaped, 'pudding-basin typed' dagaba is $40\frac{1}{2}$ feet. A circular spire with two crystals is worked on the top. The height from the pavement up to this is 63 feet (J. G. Smither). Four rows of lean tall columns encircling the dagaba on the platform, varying from 14 feet to 23 feet with finely decorated and carved capitals add to the beauty of the sight. There were once 76 pillars in all of which only 31 now remain entire and they may have been used either to support a storey above with horizontal shafts or their capitals to hang pictures on, depicting the various scenes taken from the life of the Buddha.

'This monument is in itself evidence of the remarkable skill of architect, builder and sculptor in Ceylon at a period anterior to that of any existing monument in the mainland.' Succeeding kings showed their respect and regard for this dagaba. Aggabodi VI (A.D. 741) made for it 'a cover of

gold ornamented with bands of silver set at distances.' Udaya (A.D. 901) "covered Thuparama with a band of gold." Sena IV (A.D. 972) "made a door of pure gold for the relic house at Thuparama."

Dalada Maligawa.

Dalada Maligawa, or Palace or Temple of the Tooth, within the enclosures of the Thuparama limits, was built for preserving the tooth relic of Buddha which was brought to Ceylon in A.D. 311 by a Brahmin Princess and held peculiarly sacred. The vicissitudes of this interesting and sacred relic surpass the history of the Kohinoor which adorns the crown of our august sovereign, and the adventures of the celebrated Golden Fleece. It was carried away for safety during the worst Tamil raids. It was once actually stolen and removed to India in the fourteenth century A.D. but Parakrama III went to the mainland, pleaded for it in person and brought the relic back. 'From golden caskets set with jewels, raised above bowing, swaying, adoring multitudes, to the hair of a princess's head or the saffron folds of a priest's robe as places of hurried concealment,' 'from temples of granite, decorated with gold and silver, to windy caves on bare hill-sides and holes in depths of jungles,' the tooth has wandered. Sage Khema rescued it from the funeral pyre of Buddha and it was eventually brought to Ceylon concealed in the hair of a princess, who was of Kalinga lineage a race that gave more than one king to Ceylon.

The relic is no longer in this shrine. It cannot ordinarily be seen. Casket upon casket guards the tooth which is preserved in the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy. Garlands of precious stones and other decorations of gold and silver adorning these caskets are marvellously done. The tooth-relic is carried in procession on a mounted elephant once a year, about August, during the great Perahara festival, the descendants of the old Kandyan chiefs, with their gay embroidered 150 yard-length of brocaded silk, walking in front of the procession.

A model of the relic can be seen at the Colombo museum. Its length is 2 inches; in shape and thickness it resembles a man's little finger. The version that the tooth-relic was destroyed during the Portuguese raid on Kandy in 1560 is not accepted by the credulous Ceylonese. The Dalada Maligawa itself is in ruins but appears to have had a hall, an ante-chamber and a room to contain the relic. None of these can be made out from the picture before us. You will observe a fine flight of steps with dwarapalakas on either side and a moonstone before it.

Lankarama.

Leaving this 'forest of columns' which was 'once a house for priests,' on the east north-east side of the Thuparama enclosure, will be noticed a small

dagaba, known as Sangamitha's tomb. A long road takes us to the Lankarama dagaba through small tanks and a cistern which is 'the drinking trough of king Dutugemunu's State elephant,' through the Sarcophagi or medicine boats which remind us of Hospitals for prevention of pestilential diseases. As mentioned before, this is one of the eight Athmastanas of Anuradhapura. Its tall, slender pillars are 12 to 16 feet 8 inches in height and look very graceful. We pursue our track on the Y road from Lankarama, after paying a visit to the Gal-gé or stone-house or rock-hummocks and past the stone canoes, one of which is 44 feet 3 inches and, according to the Mahawansa, intended to hold rice, and pavilions with moon-stones and sculptured flight of steps and stone canoe-shaped cisterns. A dwarapal 5 feet high with a fine canopy and the elephant stables as well as an elephant pokuna in addition to those mentioned above, invite our attention in this region. Ratana-maha-pasada, or probably—the elephant stables, so called because of their huge proportions, were built where the 'elephant stables' now are, by king Kanittha Tissa (A.D. 229-247). Mahinda II improved and added to its great splendour by expending over 300,000 pieces of gold upon the edifice. Near the stone canoes are to be found three slabs belonging to the reign of Mahinda IV. According to the inscription on the second slab " (the income of) the villages set apart for repairs (of buildings) shall not be devoted to (the provision of) food and raiment (of monks) but shall be utilized for repairs. When there are no villages set apart for repairs, the surplus (of the revenue) that remains after providing food and raiment according to ancient usage, shall be spent on repairs. The warders who have not acted in this manner, shall be sent away from residence."

There is a tradition that Gautama Buddha visited the island of Ceylon on three occasions, that during his last visit one foot was placed on the top of Adam's peak while the other was planted in the north of Anuradhapura and that at the spot where this impression was left was erected a large tope, 400 cubits in height, with silver and gold as also a monastery, the Abhayagiriya. If so, the Jetawanarama is the Abhayagiriya and there is a strange and inexplicable mutation of names, sometime in the history of Anuradhapura. The dagaba was seen by Fa Hien, the famous Chinese traveller. "There was in it a hall of Buddha adorned with carved and inlaid work of gold and silver, and rich in the seven precious substances, in which there is an image (of Buddha) in green jade, more than 20 cubits in height and glittering all over and having an appearance of solemn dignity which words cannot express. In the palm of the right hand there is a priceless pearl." The ceremony of carrying, to and fro, Buddha's tooth in procession to

Abhayagiriya, took 90 days during which 500 figures representing the 500 bodily forms of the Buddha lined either side of the road.

Jetawanarama.

The description of the Jetawanarama on the basis of its being the ancient Abhayagiriya, is very interesting. Its construction commenced about B.C. 88 by a community of monks in competition with the older community with their centre in the Brazen Palace. After an exile of 16 years amongst the caves of Dambulla, king Watagemunu, a nephew of the famous Dutagemunu, came to the throne in B.C. 104 and he thought of this dagaba. It was enlarged in the time of King Gajabahu I (A.D. 113 and 125) when it rose to a height of 315 feet; but when the Mahavihara in the centre of Anuradhapura was pulled down about A.D. 275 by king Mahasena, the Abhayagiriya community received a great impetus and reached the period of its zenith and greatest splendour. A few centuries elapsed and in the seventh century, a spy of the king being murdered by the fraternity of monks, they were mercilessly punished by the king who appointed care-takers to the tanks, etc. In the following century, the 8th, Mahinda II restored the dagaba to its earlier splendour at a cost of 300,000 pieces of gold. There was erected 'an exceedingly beautiful palace with several floors', an image of Buddha costing 60,000 pieces of gold with an image on its head of exceeding great value, while its curly locks were profusely lit with sapphires.

Statue of Buddha.

To the south of the road passing on the north-east of the Jetawanarama dagaba is a statue of Buddha, a princely image under a canopy now, alas, no longer in existence.

Kuttum Pokuna.

Further on in the course of our journey we find the beautiful pair of twin baths, the Kuttum Pokuna, one of them 51 feet in breadth by 132 feet in length while the other is 91 feet long. These baths have been restored. 'There is something very weird about these remnants of ancient luxury hidden in the lonely forest.' 'The famous baths of the Roman emperors were constructed contemporaneously with these,' and, 'while those of Carcalla and Diocletian, being built of brick, have crumbled now beyond repair, the picturesque and elegant baths of Datagemunu, with their beautiful terraces and stair ways of granite can, with little trouble, be restored to their pristine condition.' Some of these baths were apparently reserved for ceremonial purposes, attached to the monasteries; were others meant for providing drinking water for the

public? It must be noticed that artificial lakes fed them with water from outside.

Hard by the Kuttum Pokuna, on its east, will be observed a large monastery, entirely in ruins and a little further on, the remnants of a Hindu vihara in great ruins. Was this the residence of the people of foreign faiths?

Vijayarama.

North-west of Kuttum Pokuna, about 2 miles from it, is Vijayarama, and as we pass by, on the way, the Burroughs Brick building, a ruined heap of buildings erected by king Nissanka about the end of the twelfth century. About Vijayarama, we read nothing in the Ceylonese chronicles. Probably the name was given it in recent times. This monastery of the ninth century once possessed a preaching hall of an exceedingly beautiful design in addition to its present living attractions, the carved stones decorating the wall of the platform, from which a flight of steps led on to the main building from this half which contained panels with differing figures, male or male and female standing beneath a carved makara canopy where the figures face each other open-mouthed with a human or animal figure in their jaws. The cells of monks and the refectory as well as a hot water bathroom, the last 'a low platform of brick-work, 5 feet square, the base of the hearth for heating water vessels for ablution' suggested also by the charcoal found in the digging, are to be seen close by the Vijayarama manastery. In the vicinity also are to be found old, rough worked bronze figures, human and animal, pointing to some astronomical significance considering the absence of the bullocks here also.

Leaving behind us the jungle solitude of Vijayarama, we retrace our steps to Kuttum Pokuna and go along the road that takes us to the Abhayagiriya Dagaba. It is unnecessary to make more than a passing mention to two outlying monasteries on the north-east of Anuradhapura Mullegalla and Puliyanakulam. The latter belonged to the middle of the tenth century A.D. The road runs through plantain groves and paddy fields interspersed with the interesting remnants of the past greatness of Anuradhapura. An irrigation channel also helps cultivation of paddy. You will also meet with the dwarf guardian stones and an extraordinary pit with ruined brick-dwellings in it. May we consider this to have been the centre of the Royal palace of Anuradhapura? Another interesting sight on the way is the Nakha Vihara, a heap of interesting ruins. We are now at the base of the grandest and the most imposing edifice even in Anuradhapura *viz.*, the Abhayagiriya dagaba, the seat of a community of monks.

Abhayagiriya.

Reference has already been made to the confusion arising from a supposed transmutation of names regarding the Abhayagiriya and Jetawanarama dagabas. Just as the Brazen Palace and the Ruanweli Dagabas owed their construction to atone for bloodshed and a commemoration of triumph over Elala by king Dutagemunu, this monastery was erected by Walagambahu who conquered an alien usurper of the throne, and was calculated to signalise the event and to outshine the older shrines of his predecessors.

"The buildings of the monastery have vanished, save only the boundary walls and the stumps of its pillars; but the Abhayagiriya dagaba, of its kind the greatest monument in the world, has defied all the forces of destruction, both of man and nature, and although abandoned for many centuries, during which it received its vesture of forest, there is still a very large proportion of the original building left." It is 50 feet higher than the St. Paul's Cathedral. It is spread on a foundation of eight acres which testifies to the importance and the enormity of the structure above. The altars at the cardinal points are elaborately worked and resemble those at Ruanweli and the carvings are wonderfully preserved.

"Now that Ruanweli has been vulgarised and Jetawanarama shorn of its glory, the unspoiled beauty of Abhayagiriya makes it the most attractive of the three dagabas, at any rate to those who have an eye for beauty". Foundation reveals brick at a depth of 26 feet, 'founded on a bed of concrete.' "The solid mass of masonry in this vast mound is prodigious. Its diameter is 360 feet, and its present height (including the pedestal and spire) 249 feet; so that the contents of the semi-circular dome of brick-work and the platform of stone 720 feet square and 15 feet high exceed 20 millions of cubic feet. Even with the facilities which modern invention supplies for economising labour, the building of such a mass would at present occupy 500 brick-layers from 6 to 7 years, and would involve an expenditure of a million sterling. The materials are sufficient to raise 8,000 houses, each with 20 feet frontage, and these would form 30 streets half a mile in length. They would construct a town in size of Ipswich or Coventry; they would line an ordinary railway tunnel 20 miles long, or form a wall one foot in thickness and 10 feet in height, reaching from London to Edinburgh. Such are the dagabas of Anuradhapura, structures whose stupendous dimensions and the waste and misapplication of labour lavished on them are hardly outdone even in the instance of the pyramids of Egypt."

"The apex of the third pyramid at Gizeh would fall within the spire of Abhayagiriya and its base angles coincide with the base from altar to altar

but the bowl-shaped dagaba does not give nearly so great an impression of size as the angular pyramid." (Sir E. Tennent.) A view from the summit 'consists of acres and acres of richly green tree-tops, broken here and there by the spires of the great sister dagabas which rise from the living sea.'

King Mahasena (275—302 A.D.) pulled down the Mahavihara or the Brazen Palace and gave importance to the Abhayagiriya community which continued during the reign of his son.

Hereabouts we find also a Yantragala, containing 25 square compartments on the surface. These stones are cut in squares of 5 or 3 making the number of holes 9 or 25. What is the mystery connected with these stones? Have they got anything to do with the hypnotism of the monks or, the so-called Yogi-stones? Or were they the receptacles for relics forming the base of images, to hold treasures offered by the faithful?

Stone Railings.

Let me next invite your attention to the Buddhist Stone railings, worked in a manner more appropriate to wood, which we notice in the neighbourhood, belonging to about the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The specimens of these railings are rather rare. According to Mr. H. Parker, 'The railing forms a magical protection against evil spirits—the magic circle or square—for the relics enclosed within it; and the three rails usually found in it most probably typify the three protecting 'refuges' of Buddhism—the Buddha, the Law and the community of monks.' Of the Indian examples at Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Bharhaut, the latter are neater carved and the Sanchi railings are not square but octagonal in shape. The structure looks remarkably wooden,—'the holes having been cut in the uprights were thrust on to the horizontal rails, not as any stone work was done either before or after.' The decoration on these railings consist of a flower vase at the face.

Loho Pasada.

From the Abhayagiriya we take the road that leads to the Brazen Palace or the Loho Pasada, erected for the accommodation of the community of monks who were responsible for the popularity of the new religion. This group of 1,600 columns is the most striking object of attention in the vicinity of the Bo-tree. King Duttugamini originally built this once stupendous structure, of which only the stone pillars now remain, telling us of their ancient greatness. The Loho Pasada was several times invaded by heretics and often times restored by devotees. More than the 'world of columns' whose picture is now before you, the wonderful features of this edifice is attested by references in the chronicles of Ceylon, especially the Mahawansa. The workmen engaged in the construction of this structure were paid

Prior to its commencement, 8 lakhs, 1,000 suits of clothing, vessels filled with honey and sugar at the four gates for the use of workmen were provided. "This palace was one hundred cubits square and of the same height. In it there were nine storeys, and in each of them one hundred apartments festooned with beads and flower ornaments consisting of gems set in gold. All these apartments were highly finished with silver; and the cornices thereof were embellished with gems. The flower-ornaments thereof were also set with gems, and the tinkling festoons were of gold. In this palace there were a 1,000 dormitories having windows with ornaments which were bright as eyes (Mahawansa)." The palace which was originally nine storeys in height was subsequently reduced to seven. The floor was paved with brazen tiles which 'shone like gold in the burning sun.' The palace itself was enclosed in a polished wall and four gates marked the approach into the interior. 'An ivory throne with the sun on it in gold, the moon in silver and the stars in pearls,' chairs, couches, woollen carpets, 'a gilt hall supported on golden columns in the centre and decorated with festoons of pearls', a ladle of the rice-boiler made of gold—where are all these glories of a past greatness? What was the idea with which such a building was constructed? Was it really intended as a residence for the monks of the Mahavihara which was the most important and the oldest community of Anuradhapura? What is there now to remind us of all this description and did a palace on this unwonted scale exist supported on these gnarled grey monoliths set in 40 parallel rows, with hardly any space to walk between any two pillars, or were the pillars not intended to be built upon but an open space, to accommodate the pilgrims that assembled at the Bo-tree? Are the pillars so near to support the nine storeys on top?

The only explanation forthcoming historically is rather disappointing. We are told that king Gemunu's plan was not respected in succeeding reigns and that king Sadhatissa about B.C. 140, reduced the height to seven storeys and that two centuries afterwards it was only five. Though there was no reason to expect any invasions on account of the iconoclastic zeal of Brahman enemies, the division among Buddhists themselves led to a great schism and about B.C. 90, the schismatics formed themselves into the rival body of the Abhayagiriya community with the result that has been already touched upon earlier in this discourse. The fortunes of the Loho Pasada varied with the fortunes of the community which supported it. King Mahasena, the supporter of the schismatics persecuted the monastic order who did not conform to the new doctrines and pulled down the Brazen Palace about A.D. 286, its materials being utilised for the erection of shrines and monasteries to support the schism. Some years elapsed and

the old faith yet held the field in the affections of the people. The son and successor of Mahasena rebuilt Loho Pasada. It is also alleged that the king Mahasena himself recanted later and restored the building to its old position.

'From the nature of its construction as well as the intrinsic value of its decorative materials, the Brazen Palace has always been more exposed to spoliation than the shrines and other buildings whose colossal proportions astonish us as we wander through the sacred city.' It may be so, but what shall we feel if we are in this bewildering maze of 1,600 pillars, a veritable forest of stones and with the eye of Macaulay's New Zealander or a citizen of the world marching through the streets in night-time when 'all the air a solemn stillness holds'? Was it a palace of intrigue or of religion? Mr. Milton quotes the poet who says

"But all their life is rounded by a shade.

And every road goes down behind the rim".

It is impossible at this day to believe that these stone columns could have supported a structure such as has been described and there is no sign that they did.

Mihintale.

The Brazen Palace completes our journey in Anuradhapura proper and we now travel by the road which takes us in an hour to the hill where king Tissa, as mentioned previously, received in state the great apostle of Buddhism. Mihintale was 'the efficient cause of all the constructive energy which the Sinhalese displayed in the erection of their vast cities and monuments.' This hill which, at about 8 miles from Anuradhapura, rises abruptly from the surrounding country to a height of 1,000 feet and more, is known as Medina or sacred place of the Sinhalese Buddhists. The bones of the great apostle are deposited in this place. It is curious to observe that the whole length of the road from the hill to the Ceylonese capital was covered with carpets by order of the king Bhattikabaya in B.C. 19 in order to protect the votaries and Buddhist pilgrims from soiling their feet.

On your way to the hill you come across a huge medicine boat, like the others commonly found amongst the ruins of the island, formed of a slab in the form of a human figure. You will also find an inscription on the guard stone warning you against stealth. "For the benefit of the hospital.....any one who takes by force what has been provided for this hospital will become a goat-slaying rakkasa."

The hill itself is a huge forest but a grand and beautiful granite staircase of enchanting loveliness takes you through its 1840 steps to the top and you feel as if you are being invited to the treasures of heaven by a heavenly

path. Here is a real 'beauty of a dream fulfilled.' The vision of Jacob is outdistanced and with 'reverential awe' you ascend the magnificent staircase, the last 150 of whose steps are cut out of solid rock.

It is not a mere forest overgrown on the precipitous sides of the hill but as you go higher up, you will notice revealed into view amongst the lovely natural scenery, a tottering dagaba built of decaying bricks, 'Giribanda' and 'a cave below, dedicated to the community by Asili, the noble son of the righteous king Gamini.' The 'Alms Halls' are seen in several places and a small vihara laying down the temple privileges and regulations through an inscription of the tenth century.

The Mahaseya dagaba from its top, affords interesting views of the surrounding country. 'The ruined shrines of Anuradhapura' appear 'rising above a sea of foliage, and the glistening waters of the ancient artificial lakes relieve the immense stretches of forest'. What looks like grass on 'the bold roundness' of the dagaba is a mass of forest trees.

The Etwehara dagaba was erected in the first century A.D. to 'cover a hair which grew on the forehead of Buddha over the left eye-brow.'

Through a terrace walk from the top of the staircase you reach the Naga Pokuna or the snake bathing pool. This pool formed of solid rock presents a splendid appearance and is 130 feet in length. You will notice the figure of the five-hooded cobra carved in high relief on the picture; the body is said to be immersed in the water of the pool. The spread of the hood is six feet across. Is this the Nagasondi reputed to have been built by Aggabodhi I (504 A.D.) and was it in fulfilment of its rôle of protector, to aid its healing virtues by ceremonial ablutions that this tank was built? Possibly, 'this giant-hooded beast, rearing himself sheer out of the water, has stood facing the sunrise between 13 and 14 hundred years.'

The return of the terrace walk takes you to the Ambastale dagaba containing the ashes of Mahinda who died in 259 B.C., and surrounded by the dwellings of monks. The dagaba is said to occupy the spot sanctified by the meeting of the Apostle himself by the king Tissa. It has naturally lent itself to history and legend to grow round it as it is one of the most sacred places in the island. 'The dagaba stands on a circular platform mounted by a flight of steps and the two circles of pillars are monolithic and 12 feet high.'

A stone open air bath on the hill is interesting and attracts us. This beautifully carved ornamental bath is held by a lion 7 feet 4 inches in height. The figures on the panels remind us of the Halebid friezes and invite us to witness boxing, wrestling, fighting and dancing, etc. Variety of design and the delicate working of it are amongst the wonders of the world. 'The large pokunas, with their massive hewn blocks and carved steps and their charming

little pillared dressing chambers, the deep cut rock-hewn pools and the most original single baths' cannot but escape our notice. In a jungle, 4 miles from the rest house is the famous totus bath of Pollanaruwal, a 'wonder in stone,' 'a flower petrified and preserved for immortality.' It is a pleasure to notice the living touch which the Singalese craftsman adds to his work. The bath is 24 feet 9 inches across, 4 feet 6 inches deep. This granite lotus flower consists of five concentric lamina of eight petals, gradually diminishing into a stamen and reversing the order of nature by pressing the petal rings into a concavity.

Another ruin on the hill of Mihintale is the Indukantivihara and the numerous caves round about and heaps of inscriptions scattered about amongst the ruins sacred to the memory of Mahinda. In these inscriptions, a destroyer of life was forbidden from the hill; the duties of servants and workmen were defined; maintenance of accounts was ordained and they were to be examined at the council of monks; money allowances were given to all persons performing temple service to purchase flowers; cells were provided for readers, expounders and preachers; hours of rising, of meditation, and of ablution were fixed; careful attention to food and diet for the sick was ordained; and instructions of every kind were given to servants, warders, collectors of revenue, clerks, watchmen, doctors, surgeons, washermen, etc.

Monks had dwellings of their own marked by an inscribed tablet on the top lintel. One of them belonged to one Khema.

The recollection of Mihintale's hill and ruins and the long staircase which takes you to the hill and brings you back, will long remain in your memory.

Such was the greatness once enjoyed by the capital of ancient Ceylon!

THE ANCIENT TAMIL DAME.

Pura-Nanuru 278.

[K. G. SESA AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.]

FOR a study of the thought, manners and conditions of social and political life of the ancient Tamilians, *Puṇṇ-Poruḷ Vembā Mālai* and *Puṇa-Nānūru* are indispensable. We gather from these works that, while the ancient Dravidians were a joyous people, fond of luxury, of jewellery and fine drapery, of flowers and sandal, of palm-wine, dancing and music, they were also implacable warriors. The Tamil chieftains seem to have had regular armies of the traditional four-fold character. Among the weapons that the ancient Tamil people used, were bows and arrows, spears and swords. Capital towns were apparently protected by fortresses, moats and encircling woods specially maintained as lines of defence. Tamil classical works contain stirring descriptions of sieges and of battles in the open. *Puṇṇ-Poruḷ Vembā Mālai* gives us the grammar of warfare, as understood in ancient Tamil India; and we notice that the approved rule was that the invading army should not molest the enemy's cattle, which before the contending armies met, should be removed to a place of safety. The rules also enjoined that the invading army should—

Spare the temples where sacrifices are offered.

Spare the consecrated dwellings of the ascetics.

Spare the residence of the Holy Vedic Brahmanas.

It is interesting to note that in those ancient days, the martial spirit animated not only the men, but also the women of the land. At a time of war, the women-folk urged their male relations to march to battle, resolved to win or die like heroes. The wife rejoiced to see her husband display his valour, and the mother to see her son show his bravery, in war; and neither was troubled by the thought of any possible danger to the life of her hero. They regarded a dastard in war with contempt; and death on the field of battle was regarded as glorious. Some of the lyrics of *Puṇa-Nānūru* vividly depict this significant trait in the character of the ancient Tamil dame; and of one of those lyrics, sung by *Kākkai Pāḍiniyār*, a well-known poet of the Third Sangam, I have attempted to give below an English echo:—

The dame of ancient age, with shrunken veins,
And loosely hanging tissues, heard her son
Had from the battle turned in fear and fled.
In towering rage she vowed, if that be so,
She would for very shame cut off her breasts
That gave the despicable coward suck:
She snatched a sword, swept with impetuous speed
Into the gory battle-field, and searched
The heaps of warriors slain; when lo! she found
Stretched on the field of glory, cut in twain,
Her valiant son. Then swelled, indeed, with pride
The mother's heart, which was with gladness filled,
Intenser far than when she gave him birth.

THE MAMANDUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN I.

By K. G. SANKARA, ESQ., B.A., B.L., TRIVANDRUM.

THE right-side cave at Māmandūr (N. Arcot. Dt.) has a long (18 lines) Samskrit inscription in Pallava-Grantha script, which Dr. Hultzsch, the then Government Epigraphist, declared illegible 32 years ago (No. 38—G.O. No. 424, 20th April 1888). From its style of architecture, and the palæography of its inscription, Dr. Dubreuil assigned it to the age of Mahēndra I (Pall. Ant., Vol. 1, pp. 54-5). He then tried to read the inscription, but made out only the phrase "Matta-vilāsa-ādi-padam-prahasana." This, however, confirmed his opinion as to its age, since Matta-vilāsa was a title of Mahēndra I (Trichi and Pallāvaram Inscriptions, *ib.*, p. 39), and 'Matta-vilāsa-prahasana' is, by its internal evidence, one of his undoubted works (Triv. Skt. Ser. No. 55). Mr. Gōpinātha Rao, after studying the inscription himself, wrote to Dr. Dubreuil thus:—"I found reading the Māmandūr inscription in any intelligent manner a hopeless task. I don't know if there would be any good in wasting your energy over this very badly damaged record.....I am not able to say which portion of the inscription is important and which not." But I did not agree that a further study of the inscription was useless. So I wrote to Dr. Dubreuil for a copy of the inscription; and he kindly sent me 2 photos, one in medium scale of a portion, and the other in small scale of the whole. The latter was very difficult to read. Yet the result is so promising that a fresh study of the inscription with well-prepared plates is sure to throw new light not only on Mahēndra's achievements, but on Pallava history as well. I, therefore, give my results below:—

Lines 3 and 7 refer to something described (*varṇita*), and inspired (*samuttējita*) by Vālmiki, author of the 'Rāmāyaṇa.' Line 4 mentions 'Mahēndra,' perhaps the king himself. Line 5 refers to the 'Kēraḷa' country. Line 6 has the phrase "chakranāṣakam", perhaps referring to Mahēndra's destruction of his foes. The same line gives the phrase "Matta-vilāsa-ādi-padam-prahasana". This seems to indicate that 'Matta-vilāsa' was only the first term of the (now lost) full name of Mahēndra's famous farce (*prahasana*); and, since 'Matta-vilāsa' *i.e.*, 'inebriate with grace' was a title of Mahēndra, the phrase means "the farce named—by Matta-vilāsa". We may likewise see in 'Matta-vilāsa' a reference to the theme of the farce—a drunkard's frolic. Lines 8 and 14 refer

to poets (kavi) and the obstacles (in the path of success) they make much of (vighnā kavi-samprakirtita....?). The former refers also to Mahēndra's valour in battles (samarēshu vikramam). The rhythmic flow of ll. 9-17 suggests that the inscription is mostly in verse. Line 9 says that, formerly, they used to serve Viṣṇu with poems fitted to musical 'svaras' and 'varṇas' (chakra-dharam svaravarṇayā purā tapuh kavi-girā). So, even before 600 A.C., there were Vaiṣṇava devotional poems 'set to music.' The same line mentions "asṭavarṇa." In illustrating Prahēlikā (puzzle), Dandin gives a verse referring to kings named 'asṭavarṇas' (Kāvyaḍarṣa, ch. 3, v. 114). The commentator Taruṇa-vāchaspati identifies them with the Pallava kings of Kāncī, of whom Mahēndra was one. So, perhaps, we have here a literary allusion to Dandin's meaning of 'asṭavarṇas'. Dandin would then be earlier than 600 A.C. Line 10 refers to sāma-singers (sāmaga). Line 11 refers to Mahēndra's composition of a commentary named 'Dakṣiṇa-chitra' (vrttim Dakṣiṇa-chitra-ākhyam krtvā yah). The same line refers to 'Ayana-vidhi,' perhaps a work of Mahēndra on the rules for determining the procession of equinoxes in astronomy, which, being unknown to Varāhamihira (550. A.C.), must have been borrowed from the Greeks only shortly before Mahēndra's time. Line 12 informs us that Mahēndra composed a musical 'varṇa' called 'Chandrārṇava' (Krtvā varṇam Chandrārṇavam). The same line says that Mahēndra was a pioneer in entering unexplored regions of culture (aprāpta-pūrvam-nirvāṣṭum vā-āpta-agram). This tallies with our present knowledge as to Mahēndra. He was the first to introduce rock-cut temples in the Tamizh country, the first to introduce the florid form of Pallava-Grantha script, and the first also to get literary compositions engraved on rocks e.g., Rudrāchārya's musical record at Kuḍumiyāmalai, and to depict contemporary secular and religious life with point and humour in dramas like the 'Matta-vilāsa prahasana.' Line 13 informs us that Mahēndra's good fortune was well-known (śruti-guṇa-avakīrṇa-puṇya-sampadā). This indicates that this inscription was engraved before he lost part of his kingdom to the Chālukyas. Line 15 says that it was engraved under the supervision of Skandha, son of the lady Chandra-lēkhā (Skandhākhyēna-Chandra-lēkhā-tanayēna-ālōkyā). So, down to 600 A.C., the habit of naming persons by their mothers survived. This Skandha is again referred to in line 18. The same line 15 seems to refer to a work of Mahēndra on dancing (nrtyō vihita). Line 16 refers perhaps to a summer resort—the city of Punṭraka (Punṭrakākhyē vāsapuryyām). Punṭraka is also a name of Varēndra in Bengal. Lines 16 and 17 give Mahēndra's titles, some of them well-known, Nitya-vinīta (ever humble), Satya-sandha (true to his word), Chitra-kāra-puli, Pukaip-piḍuku, Vītapārāga.

In line 17, after a word ending with 'ndrah', we have "patir Mahēndrasya Mahōdadhēṣcha," quoted from 'Raghuvamṣa' (6.54), where Kālidāsa applies it to the Kalinga king. It means "lord of the Mahēndra (mountain in Ganjam Dt.), and the Mahōdadhi (the great sea-Bay of Bengal)". This indicates that Mahēndra was king of Kalinga also, whether by conquest, or by inheritance through his mother. Since about 610 A.C., Pulakēṣin II deprived Mahēndra of his Telugu districts, the Māmaṇḍūr inscription must date before 610 A.C. Till now, the earliest references to Kālidāsa in literature or epigraphy were Bāṇa's (Introd. to 'Harsha. Ch.' st. 16), and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēṣin II (634 A.C.). This inscription carries back the references to 610 A.C.; and is thus the earliest extant reference to Kālidāsa in literature and epigraphy.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

DREAMS.

An important line of anthropological investigation has been opened up in recent years by Prof. Sigmund Freud in his monumental work "The Interpretation of Dreams".

I have been asked by Prof. C. G. Seligmann of the London University to collect examples of the dreams that are dreamed by Indians. I can think of no better way than to enlist the kind co-operation of readers of the Mythic Society's Journal. I am sure that the President and Members of this Society will be willing to help in this investigation, and that the pages of the Journal will be open to all who are willing to contribute their experiences, or those of their friends, in dreamland. It is not necessary that the names of the dreamers should be given, but the following particulars should always be noted:—

- (1) the caste of the dreamer ;
- (2) his occupation ;
- (3) the place where he dreamed his dream.

All dreams will be welcome, no matter how weird, provided they are genuine. If any contributor is too shy to have his dream published in the Journal, I should be glad to receive an account of it, addressed to me "C/o Messrs. Binny & Co., Madras." It would be of especial interest if readers could secure accounts of dreams dreamed by illiterate people, whose minds are untouched by Western education. I sincerely hope that this appeal for information, which is of real scientific interest, will meet with a ready response, and that South India will provide abundant data for the assistance of Prof. Seligmann in his researches. It is not an abstruse or tedious task that I ask readers to perform. It is a matter of no small interest to ascertain the dream experiences of those one comes in contact with, and the work of only a few minutes to jot them down. The sub-joined note by Prof. Seligmann will make clearer the points at issue in this investigation. I may add that references to books and legends concerning dreams and their interpretation will be welcome, but firsthand experiences are the most important.

F. J. RICHARDS.

Prof. Seligmann's Note.

From one point of view dreams may be divided into three categories:—

(i) Those that are both sensible and intelligible, *i.e.*, they tell a story the meaning of which is obvious. Such are (in the white races) many dreams of children, and such adult dreams as that in which a soldier short of cash for cigarettes dreams that he has received a letter full of £5 notes. In these dreams the mental processes resemble those of waking life.

(ii) Dreams which tell or enact a connected story and have an evident meaning, but their content in whole or in part strikes us as unnatural, and we cannot fit them into the fabric of our waking life, as when a man dreams that his brother is gored by a bull.

(iii) Dreams of which the content is bizarre, confused and nonsensical. Such dreams often have a peculiar quality of unreality, and can scarcely, if at all, be related to the waking thoughts, *e.g.*, the bull in (ii) above has human eyes. Much of the strangeness of these dreams is due to the symbolism used to express the dream thoughts. Pharaoh's dreams and those of his servants (Genesis XL and XLI) are good, but not extreme, examples of this form of dreams, and might be used as illustrations in an attempt to get information concerning dreams.* I cannot now go into the modern ideas on the nature and significance of the processes which give rise to dreams belonging to classes (ii) and (iii). I will only say that the unnatural and bizarre elements represent a symbolic rendering of a desire or emotion which we cannot bring ourselves to admit during our waking hours, or which is so contrary to the normal trend of our modes of thought that it is never really admitted to consciousness.

It would be extremely interesting to know whether the dreams of other races belong in the main to class (i) or to the other two classes. The little information on dreams which I have in my notes, collected in the course of general anthropological work, before I took any interest in the subject, only show that other races not infrequently have dreams of class (i). It would be very desirable to record a number of dreams in as much detail as possible, and if dreams of classes (ii) and (iii) occur, to find out whether any special meaning is attributed to them, *i.e.*, is the fact of symbolism in dreams recognised, and, if so, are there general conventional meanings attached to any symbols, or even individual meanings, *i.e.*, does the individual consider that certain objects or animals or people dreamt of have a particular significance for him.

It should not be difficult to investigate one type of dreams. The members of almost every African tribe at one time or another sacrifice to their ancestors, and in a number of instances it is recorded that the ancestor appeared in a dream and demanded a sacrifice, sometimes I believe, threatening ill-health or misfortune, if the sacrifice be not made.

When among the Nilotes, I was many times told that an animal was killed because an ancestor had appeared in a dream and demanded it, but unfortunately I made no notes as to the circumstances of the dream. It should not be difficult to discover the scene of a dream; if in the open, the character of the surroundings, the people, animals or things who were dreamt of as present, the form in which the ancestor appeared (human or animal, in age or youth, in health or as in last illness), what were the actual words spoken and so on. In this paragraph I assume that the dreams of an ancestor demanding sacrifice is a dream of class

*Probably Joseph's dream, in which his brother's sheaves bow down to his sheaf, shows a simpler symbolism, and so might be a better starting point.

(i), it may of course belong to one of the other classes, though I think this is not very likely for class (iii). But if the dream is of either of classes (ii) or (iii), the symbolism would be well worth investigating; it is quite possible that the ancestor might be represented in the dream by the appropriate totem animal.

[Mr. L. A. Cammiade who had perused in MSS. the foregoing request of Mr. F. J. Richards to the members of our Society, sends us kindly the following in answer to the appeal.—EDITOR.]

DREAMS.—(Reply 1).

1. *A woman dreams of a snake : it forebodes the birth of a child.* This is a belief that was current at Pondicherry about thirty years ago among the servants, chiefly ayahs, who worked in European houses. It had affected some of their European mistresses. The servants were local Pariahs and were to a large extent converts of two or three generations' standing; but, they were much addicted to all the superstitious observance of their pagan brethren and they had especial faith in the pagan system of interpretation of omens and dreams.

2. *It is not good to go to sleep after an auspicious dream.* I am not sure of the place where I heard of this; I think it was at Rajahmundry, or at Pôlavaram which is about twenty miles from Rajahmundry. I was told one morning that there had been a commotion the previous night in the house of a well-known Chetty over the fact that the Chetty had had an auspicious dream. It was said that he got up immediately after the dream and had roused the whole of his household to tell them of it and that lamps were lit and that the household remained awake the rest of the night lest the good fortune portended by the dream should not come true. My informants were Brahmins. They seemed to consider the Chetty's action as the usual and proper thing to do in such cases. It was because they thought that the Chetty was in for a piece of good luck that they told me of his dream. The reason for abstaining from sleep was not stated. Possibly it was to prevent the occurrence of a second dream that might neutralize the first.

3. *A father appears after death to his son and tells him in a dream of the stone in which his spirit had taken its abode.* The Chôdavaram division of the Godavari Agency tracts is a wild and hilly country which on account of its poisonous climate has been left in the undisturbed possession of two hill tribes, the Kôî or Kôyas and the Konda Reddis (Hill chiefs). The Reddis do not speak the Kôî language and they do not seem to have had any other language than Telugu. The Muṭṭadars (Headmen) of Chôdavaram are without exception Reddis. This suggests that the Reddis are the descendants of Telugu-speaking immigrants who in some way obtained domination over the Kôî. In point of culture and beliefs, however, the Reddis are on the same level as the Kôî. Like the Kôî they attach great importance to ancestor worship and set up stones called "pitru rāllu" (ancestor stones) to which offerings are made. Each such stone represents a particular ancestor and is venerated as

long as there is any one in the neighbourhood who can remember the ancestor by name and finds motives for venerating him. In the more advanced parts of the Agency tracts, as on the borders of Ellore, some of the Kōi families have set up as "pitru rāllu" carved statues. But in the greater part of the Agency area any flattish piece of rock planted erect like a grave headstone is considered good enough. In default of a natural flat slab any roundish stone is used. One of the Muttadars of Chōdavaram to whom I was speaking on the subject of *pitru rāllu* took me to a place a short distance away from the village and showed me a large water-rolled ovoid stone about 18 inches in length that had been set up on the wayside and said that his father's spirit lived in that stone. I asked him how he came to know this. He answered that shortly after death his father appeared to him in a dream and took him to the bed of a stream where he pointed out the particular stone in which he had decided to take his abode. Accordingly the next day the Muttadar went to the stream and was able to recognize without doubt or difficulty the particular stone which his father had pointed out in his dream. I think it is necessary here to emphasise the opinion I then formed that my informant was in absolute good faith, in his belief that his father's spirit inhabited that particular stone and that the motive for his belief was just the dream of which he had told me.

I regret I did not enquire whether such dreams were usual in that part of the country. The facts stated seem to suggest that a dream of the kind if not usual was at least not uncommon. On the other hand the carved statues set up on the borders of Ellore, which are made from stones furnished by the sculptor, would seem to show that in those cases there was no dream revelation and that if the spirit of the ancestor was believed to have taken its abode in the statue, the spirit must have been inducted into the statue after it was set up or in the act of consecration.

4. *The dreamer is asked by a goddess to immolate himself as an act of gratitude for benefits received.* This case, like the preceding, relates to a Konda Reddi Muttadar of the Godavari Agency tracts. The Muttadar in question had the reputation of being an unscrupulous villain and he was the descendant of a line of badmash Muttadars who had been deeply embroiled in insurrections, murders and abominations of all kind. This Muttadar had a favourite deity, a goddess of some kind probably borrowed from the lowlands, and she had a sacred grove. It may with some confidence be conjectured that the Muttadar attributed to the protection of this goddess his deliverance from the numerous escapades of which stories circulated in plenty in and around his mutta. Suddenly in a fit of reckless daring he felled the grove of the goddess because the soil was rich and because he thought it a pity to let so many acres of fertile land lie idle. The people of the Mutta were aghast at this profanation. But the Muttadar was serene and seemed none the worse for his misdeed. On the contrary, he reaped a bumper crop from off the land and had plenty of money for drink and other things. Some months later I happened to be camping in the mutta and one evening a Revenue inspector and myself got belated in an unfamiliar part of the country

a few miles from camp. After some difficulty we found a man and asked him to show us the way. He agreed but quietly gave us the slip. Further on we found another man in a hut. This man told us he was afraid to come as he would have to return alone. After a little questioning we ascertained from him that he was afraid of being kidnapped by one of the underlings of the Muttadar and offered up as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the goddess. His story, which we found later was current in the neighbourhood, was to the effect that the Muttadar had had a dream in which the goddess appeared to him and asked him what return he was prepared to make for all the benefits she had conferred on him. The Muttadar was profuse in his protestations of his readiness to do anything which the goddess might require of him. She then told him she wanted human sacrifice and that the best sacrifice he could offer was himself. He begged and bargained by the offer of a holocaust of buffalos and then by offering to sacrifice as many human beings as she might want and then even offered to immolate his wife, but the goddess was obdurate and vanished. Our informant went on to say that since the dream the Muttadar had been offering a large number of buffalos to the goddess, a thing most unusual for him to do, and that in spite of the sacrifice he had fallen ill and had therefore resolved on going a step further and was trying to see whether human sacrifice would not appease the goddess.

It is immaterial for the purpose now in hand whether the Muttadar did have a dream of the kind imputed to him. It is enough that a dream of the kind should have been considered as natural by the people of the Muttā. A dream of this kind would undoubtedly have been quite natural in the particular circumstances of this case and is quite in keeping with the strongly rooted popular belief that goddesses of the blood-thirsty order are prone to appear not only in dreams but in the twilight and in the dark and make extravagant demands. It is also to be remembered that self-immolation was an approved form of worship in Southern India from very ancient times.—one of the carvings at the Seven Pagodas shows a man in the act of cutting off his own head as an offering to a God (?).

18-4-20.

L. A. CAMMIADÉ.

The Date of Kalidasa—A Rejoinder.

(By BABU DHANAPATHI BANERJI, M.A., B.L.)

In pages 188—190 of our Journal we published a letter of Mr. K. G. Sankara, B.A., B.L., on Mr. D. Banerji's article on the Date of Kalidasa. We print below Mr. Banerji's reply to the same, which will close the correspondence under this head.—[ED.]

I may be permitted to mention generally that Mr. Sankara does not touch or refute any one of my main arguments but confines his attention only to minor or subsidiary ones.

1. Mr. Sankara argues that 'Vikrama' means 'valour' and not 'strength'. I need only quote in reply the following meaning of the word as given in the "Sabda Kalpadruma". विक्रमः—अतिशक्तिरित्यमरभरतौ (pre-eminent strength.) The derivative meaning of विक्रम is "strength in action", as indicated by Bhatti for instance: from the root कृन् कर्मवन्ध कमितुं सकोपः, प्रतर्कयन्नन्यमृगेन्द्रनादान् Cf. also Raghu., Canto XV. "शुशुभे विक्रमोदग्रं ब्रीह्यावनतः शिरः"

The description of Kalidasa, viz., that of a valiant king with muscular arms and broad chest is singularly apt to indicate this Vikrama by its chief *physical* features.

2. The next point seems to be that Kalidasa should have used the word आदित्य (in the sloka quoted) if he wanted to refer to Vikramaditya:—Mr. Sankara has failed to understand my argument. I have shown that Kalidasa wanted to make a व्यंजन or an *indirect* reference and so he *had* to avoid the word *Vikrama* and find other words to convey the idea of "pre-eminent strength" अतिशक्तिरिति. He would similarly avoid the word आदित्य and yet Mr. Sankara complains that the word has not been directly used !!

I may add that Mr. Sankara has not understood the rules of छन्दः or Sanskrit versification. The line is इन्द्रबज्रा metre स्यादिन्द्रबज्रा यदितौ जगौ गः i.e., त, त, ज, ग, ग, make out *Indra bajra*. If we put आदित्य there the line will be out of order. Any Sanskrit student will find this out, but Mr. Sankara says that Kalidasa ought to have used the word आदित्य !

I may be permitted to summarise some of my main points taken in my article.

(a) Self-adulations by kings or their praises through their hired poets and court poets would not be in fashion with the Hindu authors in the first century B.C. It is prominent from the time of Salivahana 1st Century A.D. The post-Mauryan revival of orthodox Hinduism must have looked with disfavour upon the characteristics and practices of Buddhistic kings like Asoka publishing their own panegyrics. As quoted before, Shatrughna feels a good deal of shame in hearing his own praises. (Raghu., Canto XV.)

(b) Kalidasa under the circumstances must make a very indirect reference to his patron king or queen. He has done that with consummate art. He has perhaps gone even too far:—In praising the king of Avanti he has shown that the heroine Indumati was too effeminate to appreciate the beauties of the king of Avanti:—This is a slur upon Indumati and indirectly upon "Aja" the hero. We cannot understand how a poet like Kalidasa will make such an unusual artistic aberration unless we bring in Vikramaditya as his patron.

(c) I do not know what Mr. Sankara means by saying that the meaning of भानुमती queen has to be extracted:—The one meaning is as much to be 'extracted' as the other. According to rules of Sandhi भानुमती इव = भानुमतीव and भानुमति+इव = भानुमतीव. The one formation is as correct as the other. This reference to the queen must be taken along with the other arguments.

I need not deal in detail with all the arguments I have used before. Mr. Sankara has not touched any of the main arguments or tried to meet the cumulative force of all my arguments:—

3. Mr. Sankara says that I have not shown how far the tradition about Vikramaditya can be carried. I am afraid he has not carefully read my article. I have shown that this so-called tradition can be carried as far back as the first century A.D. It is admitted that the Gatha Sapta Sati was written in that Century. The Gatha mentions king Vikramaditya and ridicules his extreme liberality.

4. I come next to the sloka of Megha Duta:—

दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्

Here again Mr. Sankara has failed to grasp or meet the cumulative effect of my arguments. I never said that *Dingnagas* mean wandering Buddhist monks. I said that the word means Buddhist missionaries with their "massive manipulations of pride" (or self-praise). The literal translation will be "massive hand pride". Asoka was the organiser of Buddhist missions and his numerous inscriptions on massive pillars and rock-surfaces executed by his army of sculptors and scribes on stone are most aptly described as स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्.

Moreover these proclamations (which Rhys Davids calls royal rhodomontade) erected or inscribed in the four quarters or frontiers of his empire, are like *Dingnagas* themselves as much as their authors. The meaning given by Mallinath is singularly inappropriate. Mallinath himself is dubious because he suggests another meaning which seems to be more inappropriate. I may point out the following reasons:—

(a) Mallinath says that there were two contemporaries of Kalidasa. (1) Nichula who was his favourite author, (2) Dingnaga who was his enemy, and he explains the sloka accordingly. But history and tradition do not corroborate Mallinath. If he wanted to put a slur upon Dingnaga he would not have used the plural number. If Dingnaga refers to a single person, the plural number can only be used as a mark of respect. But how could the cloud above be asked to avoid the writings of Dingnaga? Evidently, these scripts were something that the cloud may touch in

the way and he is asked to avoid them. The meaning is so singularly plain with regard to these edict-bearing pillars and rocks of Asoka that this does not require any further elucidation.

लेप or लिपि means also writing or inscription. While अब् is used in Sanskrit as had; अबलेपान् suggests boastful inscriptions:—अबलेप is used by Kalidasa as meaning pride in another place, “मत्तंगशापादबलेपमूलात्” (canto V, Raghuvamsa) लेप and लिपि are derived from the same root लिप्—लिम्पति. *Lepa* in the sense of ‘be-smearing’ is used in *Mrichchhakatikam*: “लिम्पतीव तमोङ्गानि वर्षतीवाजनं नमः” Ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, rhetoric and diction is responsible for many theories put forward and supported.

(b) I have never suggested that the word Dingnagas means Buddhist monks. It means Buddhist savants engaged on missionwork in different directions—Asoka, as the organiser, was their head, the foremost *Dingnaga*.

(c) I have not argued that because the king of Magadha is described as pleasing his subjects, etc. we have a reference to Pushyamitra. There is a direct reference to Pushyamitra in Kalidasa's drama and I have pointed that out. Here again the critic has not weighed all my arguments in a scholastic spirit, but he is simply busy in picking out holes here and there. It is admitted on all hands that Kalidasa flourished before the 7th Century A.D. Banabhatta mentions Kalidasa in the 6th Century A.D. I have already shown that. Then how could Kalidasa refer to a conquest which is of the 7th Century A.D.? These arguments are absurd and meaningless.

Why does Kalidasa give so much force to धर्मविजयी while describing Raghu as conquering Kalinga? Why does he specifically mention there that Kalinga was not annexed as Raghu was धर्मविजयी king? How is it that in the description of the king of Magadha so much stress is deliberately laid on the innumerable Yajnas performed? If we take the antithesis of Asoka everything becomes clear and full of meaning. Even the name of the King of Magadha as परन्तप presents a very strong antithesis to the name प्रियदर्शी of Asoka:—प्रियदर्शी means “sweet to look at,” as the effeminate name “परन्तप” means the conqueror of enemies, a masculine and heroic name.

(d) These references to Asoka condemning his ways and practices have been brought forward only to prove that Kalidasa lived during the first Hindu revival and reaction against Buddhism and not that Kalidasa lived at the Hindu Court of Magadha. That he lived in the court of Avanti rests on other grounds already noted.

5. I come now to the Digvijaya of Raghu in Canto IV. My friend says, “Since Kalidasa omits Magadha also he must have been a protégé of the Magadha king.” The route of conquest given by Kalidasa included Magadha. The name of Magadha has only been omitted as a mark of respect. But as regards *Avanti* the route is so framed as to exclude it altogether. From

the route it will be clear that Raghu is made to *avoid* the Kingdom of Vikramaditya and to take a circuitous course. This difference of treatment as between Magadha and Avanti is suggestive of only one theory but Mr. Sankara does not perceive it.

6. I next come to Gatha Sapta Sati. It was admittedly written in the first Century A.D. This Gatha directly and specifically mentions *Vikramaditya*. Thus Vikramaditya is mentioned in the first Century A.D. I need not quote the description again. But it is clear that the sloka ridicules his extreme liberality. This shows that he was not a mere tradition in the first Century A.D. but a historic personality, the patron of a rival centre of culture. My friend says that no distinction is drawn between Vikramaditya and Salivahana. The description of Salivahana is given in the Samasataka a few slokas down. To put the description just under will be overdoing the thing. But the contrast in meaning is too clear. The liberality of Vikrama is shown as a weakness yielding to the slightest flattery and giving away lakhs on a little tickling. Salivahana is described as the person who helps the (really) distressed and not those qualified by flattery.

About the Vikramaditya legend my friend says that "it is found only in very late works". To say this in face of the sloka about Vikramaditya which I quoted from the Katha is a determination to shut eyes.

Mr. Sankara also says that there is no direct reference to the writings of Kalidasa in the Gatha. Here again he has adopted the expediency of shutting eyes. Every Sanskrit scholar knows the beautiful sloka in Megha Duta about the आशाबन्ध. The "tenderness of imagination" is strikingly characteristic of the genius of Kalidasa. The Gatha mentions this आशाबन्ध and finds an exception. I shall put the slokas side by side and leave the thing to the judgment of every impartial scholar :—

आशाबन्धः कुसुमसदृशं प्रायशोऽङ्गनानां ।	विरहानलो विसृज्य आसाबन्धेन बलहृजणस्तु ।
सद्यःपाति प्रणयि हृदयं विप्रयोगैरुणद्धि ॥	एकगुणमववासो मा ए मरणं विसृजेद् ॥

The meaning of the sloka in the Gatha is only taking an exception to the description of Kalidasa and picking out a loop hole. About *apannani* my friend says that the inference is not necessary. But the cumulative effect of all these arguments he has failed to consider or grasp. The direct reference about आशाबन्ध Mr. Sankara fails to see and he omits that.

I now come to another similar treatment of my arguments. Kalidasa wrote in the Megha Duta. उदयतकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्. Vriddhan means "old men." Banabhatta gives Gunadhya the first position as a poet. If Kalidasa flourished after Gunadhya how could he write that the legend of Udayana can be learnt from old men. After Gunadhya these traditions cannot be confined to old men. The line will be altogether meaningless. Mr. Sankara says that the word "only" has not been used. Kalidasa could expressly use the word "only" if he had a suspicion as a prophetic instinct that Gunadhya would write a book in future about the legend. After Gunadhya the line will be altogether meaningless. The only inference is that during the time of Kalidasa it was a tradition only and Kalidasa refers to that tradition.

I now come to the next argument of Mr. Sankara:—"Mr. Banerji relies on the Vikramaditya legend."

I have certainly not relied on it. On the other hand, I have shown that even if the Vikrama legend is disbelieved, the date of Kalidasa is established beyond all doubt.

I may however refer to the "Vikrama legend" to show that our friend's arguments are altogether erroneous. His arguments are as under:—

(1) The legend only appears only in late works.

(2) Facts and fiction are closely interwoven:—

(3) There are references to various persons and to Garvavisheka bearing strong analogy to the Vikrama legend. Mr. Sankara explains this by saying that the legend was an imitation of Kalidasa's account.

(4) The tabular statement given of some of the salient points is not referred to and not met.

(5) The origin of the Vikrama Era has been *disproved* by valid evidence. He says that a king or chief must have guided the Malawas in their conquests: but that does not necessarily show that that king was Vikramaditya.

(6) Col. Todd's and Dayananda's genealogies must be proved.

This is wrong. Vikramaditya is mentioned in the Gatha as stated above.

In old history and original evidence we find this not only in India but in Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome and every other ancient country:—facts and fiction are closely interwoven; tradition never says "this portion is fact, believe it" and "this portion is fiction, disbelieve it".

What Mr. Sankara probably means is this:—That legends were subsequently prepared after perusal of Kalidas's works and taking out some portions and descriptions by way of imitation:—This is untenable. Tradition can never be manufactured in a day by Pundits or scholars. Besides, if the tradition wanted to imitate Kalidasa it would certainly have imitated the best and most striking portions in his writings.

My friend in a manner admits this chief of the Malawas: but he objects to his name. He has strong prejudice against his name. He has not been able to suggest the name of such an important king who founded an Era. Why object to the name when the personality is admitted?

Both the scholars have carefully compiled them from old works. Other genealogies have been accepted on flimsier evidence.

As stated before, I did not mix up the two controversial matters. We may deny Vikramaditya and still hold that Kalidasa lived in the first Century A.D. Vikramaditya I the heroic king of the Malwas has been ignored. I may take up this subject in some other article. But what I have stated is that the date of Kalidasa can be fixed apart from Vikramaditya.

I next come to Aswaghosha: I shall deal first with general arguments:—

It is admitted by Mr. Sankara that "the Buddhists at first wrote in Pali because it was the language of the people" and "about the time of Aswaghosha it had ceased to be spoken". That is all very well: but why did the Buddhists adopt Sanskrit and abandon 'Pali' which was their classical language. Aswaghosha did not write in Prakrit which was the common language. Buddhism and Hinduism were rival religions up to the time of Sankaracharya 8th Century or 9th Century A.D. Why did Buddhism adopt the unspoken language of its rival? Mr. Sankara mentions this fact but is unable to give any reason. The only explanation is the brilliant age of Kalidasa and its influence. The style and versification of Asvaghosha are clearly connected with this period of revival and not with the Ramayana or the Mahabharata.

I have given other general arguments besides those mentioned by Prof. S. Roy in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

I have now come to details about Aswaghosha:—

In the very introduction Aswaghosha says that the damsels rushing to see the spectacle had no impure thoughts in their hearts. What is the necessity of this caution? It is not necessary that Aswaghosha should mention Aja specifically. That is never done either by Kalidasa or by Aswaghosha or by any poet or author in Sanskrit literature: Sanskrit authors understand that mentioning an enemy or his writings by name is advertising him "केचिद्, अपर, अत्ये, वाच्यं", etc. These are the words at most available. In poetry even that is absent.

Having failed to meet the argument Mr. Sankara suggests that I am inconsistent because I say that Aswaghosha is moral and at the same time point out that he is obscene. A moral man may be very obscene in expression. An immoral man may hate obscenity. There is nothing inconsistent in the above.

There is another argument of Mr. Sankara which is also equally untenable. It is not the story or incident but the method of dealing with it that is important. The observations of Mara on his failure to seduce Buddha that is what I drew attention to. Mr. Sankara has not said anything about that. As regards Bharavi the fact that the tempters themselves were tempted is *not* in the original Mahabharata. Bharavi has originated this idea and has amplified it. The sequence from gradual development is obvious. I have never stated that *because* Kalidasa depicted Agnivarna as a sensualist *therefore* he lived in the first Century B.C. This is the way followed by Mr. Sankara in most of his arguments and I need not pursue them in detail. I may mention that Rani Bhawani belongs to the 18th Century A.D. I meant the first century of British Conquest and probably there has been a slip or a misprint. I meant that the Bengalis respect the character

of Rani Bhawani even now after a century. There have been many dramas written in Bengali. But none could possibly deal with the love affairs of the Rani. As a Hindu my friend ought to understand this Hindu sentiment. After a long time the character vanishes from popular recollection and the personal feeling goes away and the character becomes an abstraction. Dharini will be well remembered during the first Century B.C. and that explains the peculiarity of the character of Dharini as shown in my article.

I shall now come to the internal evidence about law and status. Mr. Sankara has not touched the main argument here. At the time of Kalidasa widows did not inherit. I have shown that this agrees with what is laid down in Kautilya's Artha Shastra.

The next argument is about Asavarna marriage: Here again my friend has missed the point of my argument. Of course the marriage is mentioned in Mahabharata. Mahabharata bears traces of a time when there was no restriction. Yayāti a ksatriya married the daughter of the famous priest Shukracharya. But during the time of Kalidasa there were restrictions: I refer to this sloka which Dushyanta utters to himself :—

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमायदाव्यं मत्स्यामभिलाषि मे मनः ।

सतां हि सन्देहपदेषुवस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तः करणं प्रवृत्तयः ॥

The character of Dushyanta as depicted by Kalidasa is that of a heroic king proud in his morality and observance of Shastras. As soon as he sees Shakuntala he is attracted. But Shakuntala in the *asram* of Kanwa may be the daughter of a Brahmin. He has doubts in his mind and does not allow his mind to let loose and be out of control. But when he comes to know that she is of mixed caste, there was no restriction of marriage as all mixed castes are lower than the three pure castes.

"Certainly she must be capable of being married to a Kshatriya otherwise why should my noble mind be attracted to her? In all matters of doubt before good men their feelings are the ultimate test".

Dushyanta was afraid that Shakuntala was the daughter of a Brahmin and could not be married to him. He draws out the parentage of Shakuntala by cross-examination and is happy at the disclosure :—

This shows that कौवेरी marriage was forbidden but उदोच्य marriage was allowed. This is quite in accordance with Kautilya. Smritis clearly mention mixed castes of this type as lower than the pure type. Mr. Sankara has failed to grasp the point of the argument. The outlines of a story are generally old. But the poet gives it a colouring borrowed partly from local surroundings and contemporary customs.

Of the two arguments I put forward about the state of law Mr. Sankara has not met one and has failed to understand the point of the other.

Mr. Sankara mentions my argument about Yasodharma and Vasula. That was only an incidental observation. But from what Mr. Sankara says it is clear that he thinks that Kalidasa flourished in the 6th Century A.D. Mr. Mac Donell has completely refuted this theory by the Mandasore inscriptions of Batsa Vatti. I have also submitted some additional reasons by way of reply to H. P. Sastri. I need not repeat them here.

I now come to the last portions of the argument which do not touch the main points and are only incidental. ¶

1st. Huns. I shall refer to the following slokas Canto IV, Sl. 66—67, Raghuvamsa.

ततः प्रतस्थे कौवेरा भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
शरैरुस्तैरिवोदीच्यात् उद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ॥
* * * * *
विनीताध्वश्रमास्तत्र सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
तत्र हूनावरोधानां भर्तृपुन्यकविक्रमं ॥ etc., etc.

After conquering the Persians who were expert in cavalry and who had bearded faces, etc., Raghu went towards north प्रतिलोम and अनुलोम. While going towards Persia, Raghu conquered the Yavanas *i.e.*, the Greeks (Bactrians) Cf. Sl. 62.

It is clear that the Huns were located north of Persia. The use of the word *Sindhu* clearly means the Caspian sea. Their position will be somewhere between Persia and the Caspian sea. This location clearly disproves the conquest of India by the Huns as suggested by H. P. Sastri.

In Indian literature the Sakas, Huns, Greeks (Yavanas) and other foreigners are mixed up. Poets are not historians and later poets have mixed up all these tribes. To them they were all conquering foreigners. This confusion of the later day Sanskrit poets is quite natural and nothing can be deduced from that: I have pointed that out in meeting the arguments of H. P. Sastri.

So far as Kalidasa is concerned there is no confusion. He locates the Huns near the Caspian sea. His location may be from hearsay knowledge. He gives barely one line without giving any realistic details about Huns or their country. When I said "Pushyamitra checked these foreign invasions," I meant foreigners generally, and I showed that foreign invasions were known in the first Century B.C.

Mr. Sankara again tries to find fault with me in my translation of अक्षोभ्य into "untarnished." अक्षोभ्य means incapable of producing any disturbance of the mind, *i.e.*, having no blemish. क्षोभ means mental disturbance चित्तचाञ्चल्य. Cf. Bhavabhuti शोकक्षोभे तु हृदयं प्रलपैरवधार्यते Cf. also Tantras.

साधके क्षोभमापन्ने देवी क्षोभमवाप्नुयात् ।
भुक्त्वा पीत्वा चरेत् पूजां ततो देव्याः समाहितः ॥

It may also mean unshakeable or untarnished: it makes no difference in the argument.

I may add that my remarks about Cholas and Pandyas were taken from Vincent Smith's History of India:—Of course that argument is not conclusive. Nothing can be shown from that. Mr. H. P. Sastri made much of it. I showed that nothing can be deduced from that.

In conclusion I beg to say that on a calm survey of the whole evidence and judging of the cumulative effect, only one conclusion is possible, *viz.*, Kalidasa lived in the first Century B.C.

Bhasa's "Swapna Vasavadatta"

ACT IV.

[BY MR. K. RAMA PISHAROTTI, M.A.]

(Then enter Vidusaka.)

Vidūsaka—(With great joy). My good fortune indeed that I was able to witness that period, happy and auspicious by the desirable marriage of my master King Vatsa. Who would have thought that we, plunged in the whirlpool of miseries, could ever have been lifted up from it? And now we reside in palaces, bathe in the crystal waters of the tanks of the harem, and taste passing sweet delicacies; indeed I am enjoying a heavenly residence, only there are no 'Apsaras' here; yet there is one great disadvantage—I have no proper digestion and my good bed gives me no good sleep. Perhaps I am suffering from rheumatism. When a man is not keeping good health and is ill, he has really no pleasures.

(ENTER A MAID)

Maid—Where could the worthy Vasantaka have gone? (Searches about) Ah, here is Vasantaka (approaching him). Sir, how long have I been searching for you?

Vidūs—Why, dear, do you seek me?

Maid—My Queen says—Has our son-in-law bathed?

Vidūs—May I know why, my lady?

Maid—Why else but that I may bring flowers and unguent.

Vidūs—He has bathed. You may bring everything except food.

Maid—Why except food?

Vidūs—Unfortunate me, my stomach has undergone a change in the same way as the eyes of peacocks.

Maid—Let it be so always.

Vidūs—Go, lady; I too, am going to him now.

(EXEUNT BOTH)

Pravesaka.

(Enter Padmavati with her maids and Vāsavadatta dressed as an Avanti lady).

Maid—Mistress, what has brought you to the garden of Pramada?

Padmavati—Why, that I may see, if your sēphalikas have blossomed, or not.

Maid.—Mistress, they have, and, garbed with flowers, they are like poles of pearls covered with corals.

Padma—Why, then, do you delay?

Maid—Wait, then, here on this stony seat for a moment, my mistress; in the meanwhile I shall bring the flowers.

Padma—Friend, shall we, then, sit down?

Vāsa—All right.

(BOTH SIT).

Maid—(Hurrying back) look, my lady, look ! My hand is full of śéphalika flowers.

Padma—How wonderful are these flowers ! Behold, my lady, behold.

Vāsa—Why, these flowers are really worth seeing.

Maid—Milady, shall I fetch some more ?

Padma—No, no, don't you do it again.

Vāsa—Why, friend, do you check her ?

Padma—My husband, when he comes here, will praise me for this abundance of flowers.

Vāsa—Dear, is your lord so dear to you ?

Padma—Dear, I don't know that ; I feel a pang in his absence.

Vāsa—(to herself) Wretch am I indeed ! Even she says like this !

Maid—Nobly, indeed, have you, mistress, answered to the effect, ' My lord is dear to me'.

Padma—But I have one doubt.

Vāsa—What is it, what is it ?

Padma—Whether my lord was as much to Vāsavadatta as he is to me ?

Vāsa—Much more than that.

Padma—How do you know ?

Vāsa—(To herself) hem, I have transgressed good breeding through my partiality to my lord. I shall say thus (aloud). Had it been less, she would not have abandoned her people.

Padma—Quite so.

Maid—Mistress, tell your husband thus—' Let me also be taught Violin'.

Padma—He has been asked by me.

Vāsa—What, then, did he say ?

Padma—Without speaking he drew a long sigh, and stood silent.

Vāsa—And what do you infer from that ?

Padma—I infer that he recollected the good qualities of Vāsavadatta, and only did not want to cry in my very presence, because of his love for me also.

Vāsa—(To herself) I am indeed blessed, if what she says is true.

(THEN ENTER KING AND VIDUSAKA)

Vidūs—Ah, ah ; charming indeed is this Pramada garden, with these flowers,—flowers fallen down in the course of collecting them. This way, my lord, this way.

King—Friend, Vasanta, I am coming :

I merrily to Ujjain, and came having seen the daughter of the king of Avanti to my fill, got into an indescribable condition,—into me five arrows were sent by Cupid. My heart is even now afflicted by them and I am again struck. If Cupid has only five arrows, how could this sixth have been aimed ?

Vidūs—Where can Padmavati have gone ? Can it be to this bower of creepers, or to that rocky seat, which looks as if spread with Asoka flowers, or to that thick, over grown copse of the seven-leaved trees, or to yon park filled with the

screeches of birds and beasts. (Looking up) O, how charming! Behold the flight of flamingoes in rows in the spotless autumnal sky, as charming as the extended arms of Balabhadra.

King—Dear friend, I see all this;

Which forms as if the boundary line dividing the sky,—which is as spotless as the belly of a snake which has but just cast its slough—from this row of birds straight and long, yet not continuous, rising and falling, and, when they turn back, as crooked as the constellation of Ursa Major.

Maid—Behold, lady, behold this beautiful flight of Sarasa birds, as beautiful as the white lotus wreath. How! My lord is here!

Padma—Is that so? for your sake, friend, I have to give up 'going to' to my lord's presence. We shall now retire to the *Madhavi bower*.

Vāsa—All right.

(THEY DO SO).

Vidūṣ—My lady Padmavati might have come here and gone.

King—How do you know?

Vidūṣ—See these scattered bunches of śēphalika flowers.

King—The charm of these flowers, my dear friend!

Vāsa—(To herself). This word, Vasantaka, makes me think that I am at Ujjain again.

King—Here, Vasantaka, here on this seat, shall we await Padmavati.

Vidūṣ—Oh! All right (sitting and rising again). The heat of the autumnal sun is unbearable; so we shall go to the *Madhavi bower*.

King—Good, walk in front.

Vidusaka—Good, then follow please.

(BOTH WALK ABOUT).

Padma—Vasantaka is bent upon troubling us all. What shall we do?

Maid—Princess, we shall avoid your husband, by stirring the bees sticking to these creepers sucking the honey.

Padma—Then do so.

(THE MAID DOES SO).

Vidus—Ah, me, what is this? Misery, stop, please, stop.

King—Wherefore?

Vidus—These bastard bees afflict me.

King—Not so, man, not so. We shall avoid the bees, see,

These bees, singing in the intoxication of honey, and embraced by their love-stricken and beloved, may be afraid of losing their foothold and like us separated from their wives.

And so we shall seat ourself here.

Vidusaka—As you please.

(BOTH OF THEM SIT).

Padma—Thank God, my lord has taken his seat.

Vāsa—(To herself). Thank God, my lord is keeping good health.

Maid—Mistress, my lady's eyes are filled with tears.

Vāsa—My eyes water because of the pollen of 'Kāsa' flowers wafted into them by the immodest bees.

Padma—That is all right.

Vidus—Really this 'garden of love' seems to be deserted. I have to ask you something. Shall I?

King—Quite welcome.

Vidus—Whom do you love most, this Padmavati, or that Vāsavadatta?

King—Why do you thus put me in such a bad predicament?

Padma—What delicacy is there?

Vāsa—(To herself). Ah, unfortunate me!

Vidus—You can speak freely, quite freely, for the one is dead, and the other far away.

King—Indeed, I can't say, your tongue is so loose.

Padma—It has already been answered by my lord.

Vidus—I swear by everything, I won't speak it out. Now my tongue is bound.

King—I cannot, friend, I cannot even try.

Padma—O, his cruelty! He cannot understand yet.

Vidus—Why don't you speak out? Without your answer, I won't allow you to move even a step from this seat. Now are you hemmed in?

King—Oh, is it by force?

Vidus—Yes, by force.

King—Then see.

Vidus—Please, sir, please, a friend's curse, if you won't speak the truth.

King—Can't help, hear then:

'Greatly I honour Padmavati for the sweetness of her figure and temper; but yet she can't capture my heart enslaved by Vāsavadatta.'

Vāsa—(To herself). Enough, enough. I am amply rewarded for my trouble. Even 'incog' here is very beneficial.

Maid—Princess, very cruel indeed is your lord.

Padma—No, not that. He is very sympathetic and kind, for is he not even now doting upon Vāsavadatta's noble qualities?

Vāsa—Your speech is befitting your nobility.

King—I have spoken. Now do you speak. Whom do you like better, that Vāsavadatta, or this Padmavati?

Padma—Now my lord is cornering him.

Vidus—Why should I commit myself? To me both are equally honoured.

King—You rogue, having forcibly made me speak, why do you not speak out?

Vidus—Force me?

King—By force; what then?

Vidus—Then you shan't hear it.

King—Be pleased, Brahmin; please freely speak on.

Vidus—Hear then. Her ladyship, Vāsavadatta, I honour; but Padmavati, she is young, and beautiful, sweet and sympathetic, never angry and never proud. And this is another great virtue—she always gives me good food, saying 'where is Vasantaka gone to?'

Vāsa—(To herself). Yes, yes, you shall remember this.

King—All right—Vasantaka, I shall inform Vāsavadatta of all this.

Viduṣ—Hem, Vāsavadatta! Where is Vāsavadatta? She is long dead.

King—(Sorrowfully). True; she is dead.

'By your slight my mind was once more fixed on Vāsavadatta by you, and hence as before came out these words automatically as if by exercise.'

Padma—Charming this group. Only the hard hearted will dissent.

Vāsa—(To herself). Enough, I believe it. It is very pleasant to hear this in disguise.

Vidus—Bear it, my lord, bear it. Fate cannot be transgressed. Such is the case now.

King—You don't realise it. Because,

"To get over the sorrow, I have allowed my love to take roots. The more I think and think on it, the fresher and fresher does my sorrow become. 'Release the tears and the eased mind gets consolation' is what the birds say."

Vidus—The face of my lord is bedimmed with tears. I shall bring some water to wash it.

(EXIT).

Padma—His face is covered with tears. Why not we retire?

Vāsa—All right. Or wait. It is bad to leave your lord thus. So I alone shall go away.

Maid—You speak well. Princess, approach him.

Padma—Shall I enter?

Vāsa—Dear, enter.

(Saying this retire).

(ENTERING).

Viduṣ—(With water in a lotus leaf). Here is my lady Padmavati.

Padma—Sire, what is this?

Viduṣ—This is that and that is this.

Padma—Speak, speak, sir, speak.

Vidus—Lady, my lord's eyes water "because of the pollen of the Kāsa flowers fallen into his eyes, shaken by the wind. Therefore receive this".

Padma—(To herself). The clever master has got a clever servant. (Approaching nearer). May my lord prosper. Here is water for the face.

King—Dear Padmavati (aside) Vasantaka, what is this?

Vidus—(Whispers so and so).

King—(Aside). Well done, Vasantaka, well done. (Having used the water) Dear, sit down.

Padma—As my lord orders. (Sits down).

King—Padmavati !

'The pollen of the Kāsa flowers shaken by the wind, pollen resembling the moon in its whiteness, has entered my eyes and hence is my face wet with tears'. (To himself).

'She is young and newly wedded and it may pain her to hear the truth. May be she is brave, but woman is generally craven'.

Vidus—It is near time that Magadha Raja starts for paying his afternoon round of visits with you. Therefore arise thou.

King—True. That is best.

(RISING UP).

King—To do many virtuous actions and to be liberally hospitable, there are many. But there are few who appreciate it.

(All retire).

End of Act IV.

NOTES.

This scene opens with the fond and selfish thoughts of the Vidushaka. The soliloquy is significant enough, as showing that the gay marriage festivities are at last over, and that everything has settled down to the normal quietude of a palace. The king finds himself more or less accustomed to the new run of life, in which he has fortunately been thrown. The speeches of Padmavati show that she is already familiar with her lord. Such familiarity points to a certain period of time, for, in India there is no period of love-making. But at the same time it is not long enough for the king has not forgotten Vāsavadatta even to the slightest extent. We may maintain that the interval comprised about two weeks. It is sufficient to enable Padmavati to get over her maiden coyness, to accustom Udāyana and Vāsavadatta to the changed aspect of their lives and to make the Vidushaka and the maids stand on terms of easy familiarity.

Here, another peculiarity of our dramatist may also be noted. Unlike in other Sanskrit dramas, where in almost all cases the king, *i.e.*, the hero opens the first scene, here the king makes his entry only in the fourth Act. Such a unique delaying is out of tune with the Indian traditions. This is rather significant, and brings into relief the originality of the poet. The necessity of characterisation accounts for this delaying for, as a result of the long passage of time Udāyana is enabled to regain to some extent his natural buoyancy of spirits.

The scene opens with a prelude in which the Vidushaka plays the principal rôle. He is introduced to us as soliloquising on his present happy position. Thus, this man of wit and wisdom is made the mouth-piece of the past story. The few details that he gives here, and those that we have already gleaned earlier place the whole story of Udāyana before us. It need not specially be pointed out that this method of making the Vidushaka, the instrument of communication is itself significant. By putting the touching story in his mouth the poignancy of the days of suffering is much toned down. The gluttonous and often funny aspect he takes of his position tickles

us into merry laughter in which we are made to forget the stormy days of stress and strain. The heart-rending misery of the former days and the gluttonous luxury of the present make us smile in our tears—a frame of mind which the Indian jester alone can produce. Royal miseries to go hand in hand with servile gluttony, that is something laughable. It may also be pointed out that the Vidushaka enables us to realise how keen the suffering then was; for he then could find little or no hope of a lift to a better life. Hence it is that he digresses so much on his bathing, eating; thus, this soliloquy is made to emphasise, and at the same time to tone down, the great misery that was the portion of the unhappy king.

In such a strain is our jester going on and he is complaining that he is suffering, as he thinks, from rheumatism, but really indigestion. It is at this moment that the maid enters with a query from the queen whether the king has bathed or not. The wily Vidushaka exchanges a smile and a witticism for something more tangible from the maid. This closes the prologue, as it were, to this act.

The main scene opens with the entrance of Padmavati, and her maids-of-honour and Vāsavadatta. Indeed, it is a small group but none the less charming for that. There is Padmavati, buoyant and happy; there is Vāsavadatta, who has to a great extent got over the keenness of the first pangs of her sorrow. We find they are accustomed to the new lot, one to the newly attained treasure of happiness while the other to the new wounds caused by her lover's second marriage. These ladies are introduced to us in a blooming and smiling garden where every shoot has put forth tender leaves and flowers. They have come here to collect flowers and to see if one's own plants and creepers have flowered. Having collected the flowers for some time, they sit down to rest for a while, when they engage themselves in a pleasant chat. Incidentally, as it were, the talk turns on Udāyana, and we find that Padmavati is intent on devoting her heart and soul to win the esteem of her lord, and of course this passage is suggestive enough of the fact that Udāyana is extremely fond of flowers. When once Udāyana's name has been brought in Vāsavadatta finds it difficult to give it the go-by. She clutches at it with an all-engrossing love and puts forth a covert question, which is on the face of it a very rude one. Naturally it unsettles her. Vāsavadatta's intention in putting this question is quite clear. She wants to know how far her lord keeps a place for her. But the artless Padmavati has no ears for this aspect of it and says, 'I feel a pang, etc'. This is a sentence pregnant with meaning. This would show how successful Udāyana was as a lover. Vāsavadatta is crest-fallen, and, naturally enough comes the soliloquy, 'wretched indeed am I'. The answer given by Padmavati is beautiful enough, and even her maid-of-honour appreciates it and hence applauds it.

But Padmavati is quite a novice and so blunders once again. She says that she doubts whether Vāsavadatta was so much loved by her lord and in a moment of weakness Vāsavadatta says that he loved her much more. But when Padmavati asks her why, she can only to blink. Then her elopement comes to her rescue, and she takes cover under that.

And with the introduction of the name of Vāsavadatta, the maid puts in a word. She asks Padmavati to request her lord that she also might be taught to play on the violin that replies. Padmavati says she had already asked him with the result that he drew a long sigh and turned away his face. She did not press for it again. And the inference of Padmavati is the beautiful idea that she very often gives expression to. It is a passage that for ever places Padmavati in a very high position among her sisters. This shows how much love, affection and sympathy a woman, a truly noble woman is capable of. In this passage is summed up the key note of Padmavati's character. It is nobility in its own garb. Even Vāsavadatta has to yield the palm to Padmavati in point of active and loving sympathy. Here the passage is peculiarly charming because it is directly addressed to Vāsavadatta. This, as also the speech of Vāsavadatta, sets forth the natural uprightness and purity of their character which nothing can shake.

The king enters the Pramada garden, and, being highly susceptible to the influence of nature, is soon steeped in reverie. He recalls his most happy days at Ujjain, the course of his love-making, and the subsequent bliss that he had been enjoying with Vāsavadatta. This takes him further on and lands him in that unpleasant and the most distressing event of life, the loss, the extremely cruel loss of his lady love. The Vidushaka soon notes the absent-mindedness of the king and so tries to divert his mind to the present reality of his position. The hazard that he makes is very great, for he suddenly introduces the name of Padmavati, and brings her to the king's mind, which is ruefully conning over Vāsavadatta. This would show that the Vidushaka is not the counterpart of the Shakespearian clown. He knows his master too well to commit any mistake, and hence his boldness, risky though it be. Thus through the name of Padmavati, Vidushaka calls him to order, slyly suggesting the inappropriateness and the unjust nature of his present thoughts. He speaks these as if to himself, though they are really intended for the king. He must have been soliloquising aloud and thus he puts mildly before the king the actuality and the reality of his present position. This trick of his fails, for the loss of the king was too keen. So he appeals to him directly and gives a rude shock not only to his body but also to the mind for the apparent purpose of beholding the flight of birds. Very happy indeed, the more so when we remember the delicate position of the king, especially as regards Padmavati.

The device of Vidushaka has evidently been successful for the king notes it. Not only that, he nobly appreciates it. Here some may contend that the Vidushaka has been very officious, and that the king was too soon brought back from his reverie. This would indicate some want of sincerity on his part. Such a criticism cannot stand here. Perhaps the author himself has anticipated this, and it is to silence even the possibility of it that he makes the heroines also dwell upon it, we mean, the beauty of the flight of birds. This would show that the sight was so very beautiful as to attract the minds of even those who are steeped in the depths of sorrow, and no wonder our hero also is roused.

Note Padmavati's speech when she knows of the approach of her husband. It is striking enough as showing the extreme solicitude that she evinces for Vāsavadatta. It is a solicitude stronger than even love, and hence she proposes to retire to the 'Madhavi Bower' to escape the eyes of the king, and, accidentally enough, the king also is made to move in the same direction.

Note Vidushaka's speech following. It is in complete accordance with the view we have taken of the efforts of Vidushaka. Here also he is trying to make the king come back to the realities of his present position and hence he deliberately brings in Padmavati. But this has not magic enough for the king, and so his mind wanders to the beauty of flowers. So far Vidushaka has been foiled and now they take their seats.

But the Vidushaka is not to be so easily shaken off; he plays round and round and comes back again to the same topic and so requests permission to ask him a question. The king graciously nods assent. He was unprepared for such a one and he was quite taken aback, as is clear from his own words. Though he evades an answer at first, yet is he soon forced to give an answer. This scene is very beautiful, the king speaking out the truth, unsuspectingly though of the presence of both the supposed dead and the living. And nowhere else is the noble magnanimity of Padmavati brought forth in clearer light than here. She is neither jealous nor angry. She goes further and can even console and sympathise with the king, her husband. Some may contend that there is here something of idealisation. But we maintain that it is not so because from the very beginning the poet has based her love on sympathy for the pitiable state of the king. Such a love, where it is a 'give all' is romantic in its texture, but it is not idealistic, at any rate, not so idealistic as to mar the sense of reality, though such a character is far above the run of ordinary womanhood. The king himself very well appreciates this tender love and is abundant in his regrets that he cannot return what he has taken. He admits he is a slave of Vāsavadatta and so had no love to spare for Padmavati; but he can honour and respect her and this he most willingly does. The speech of the king is quite thrilling. But even here Padmavati does not find fault with the king; on the other hand admires him for his capacity for loving. She says he is sympathetic and kind. What more need any one expect from one's wedded wife. Indeed we must think she must have made him a most affectionate and loving wife. Love like this is romantic indeed and we should think, is without a parallel among the literary creations of our poets and dramatists.

The king now turns round and catches Vidushaka in his own game. But here he nimbly evades it. There he is the chatterbox, the counterpart of the Shakespearean clown. Unfortunately the talk again veers round, and the king begins to dote again on Vāsavadatta. He begins to shed tears of love. Vidushaka makes his exit to get water to wash his face. This occasion has been made use of to send Padmavati to his presence to soothe and console him.

She comes into the presence of the king almost with Vidushaka. The latter

has his wit taxed to find an excuse to explain the tears of the king and he gets one. And ungrudgingly Padmayati gives him credit for his faithfulness. But what is more than this, the soliloquy of the king is significant as showing that he has not known the character of Padmavati. He says that Padmavati, being young and new, will misconstrue him. This again would show that it is not long since the marriage was celebrated. Further, this sets forth the king's character in a better light. Had she been his wife for a time, had he known her as well as we, he would not have played this game at hide and seek. He is not yet in a position to appreciate at its worth the rare and invaluable gem he has got.

Vidushaka is wary enough. He knows it would not be safe to trust his master in that frame of mind to himself. He wants to separate them as soon as possible and brings in an excuse to do that.

Thus ends the fourth act. It is full of pathetic strains which appeal to our heart. From the point of view of characterisation we cannot but admit that this has been a grand success.

The incidents narrated in this scene could not have taken more than an hour or two and it must have been almost mid-day.

Some later poets in the Madhura-Vijaya.

BY PANDITS HARIHARA SASTRI AND SRINIVASA SASTRI

(Government Oriental Library, Travancore.)

PROFESSOR T. Rājagōpālāchārya, M.A., in his review of the poem 'Vīrakampārāya-charita' which appeared in the 'Indian Review' for October 1917 has observed that there are, in the poem, names of a few Sanskrit poets unknown to fame. Since the appearance of this review, the editors of the poem have been able to gather the following information regarding these poets:—

The authoress speaks highly of the poetry of a Karnāṃṛita-kavi. This poet we take to be the same as Līlāsuka, otherwise known as Vilvamangalāśvāmī, the author of the 'Kṛishna-Karnāṃṛita.' The author of the 'Purushakāra,' a work on grammar, calls himself Kṛishnalīlāsukamuni, and he has also written a poem called 'Abhinavakaustubhamālā' in praise of Sṛī-Kṛishna. It seems that he was a native of Kāñchīpura, as he invokes the blessings of the God of Kāñchīpura at the end of the 'Purushakāra'. The author of the 'Karnāṃṛita' referred to by the authoress must have been a poet of great renown in Kāñchīpura, to justify the eulogistic reference by a queen of the country in her poem. Hence it seems probable that the Karnāṃṛita-kavi referred to by Gangā Dēvī and the author of the 'Purushakāra' are one and the same person. His date can be placed in the interval between the end of the 12th century A.D., and the end of the 14th century A.D., in as much as he quotes the grammar of Hēmachandra who lived in the 12th century A.D., and is quoted again in his 'Dhātuvṛitti' by Mādhavāchārya who flourished in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. The report on the working of the peripatetic party of the Government Oriental

Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains the following information regarding Krishnalīlāsuka :—

"Srichinha-kāvya" is a poem in Prākṛit language written in 12 sargas, in which Krishna's holy deeds are praised. The first eight sargas were composed by Krishnalīlāsuka who is the same as Vilvamangalāsvāmi. They illustrate in order the sūtras of Vararūche's 'Prākṛitaprakāśa.' The remaining portion which was the production of his pupil and commentator Durgāprasādayati, illustrates the sūtras of Trivikrama's Prākṛit grammar. The portion written by Līlāsuka is called Gōpikābhishēka and the whole work is termed Srichinha for the word 'Sri' ('Siri' in Prākṛit) occurs in the last stanza of each sarga. Līlāsuka is the author of several works besides the 'Karnāmṛita.' He mentions Vilvamangala also under the name of Kōdanda-Mangala, thus raising the presumption that he was a native of the Tamiḷ or the Malayāḷam country wherein 'Kōdanda' is used as a synonym for 'Villu'."

Tikkaya or Tikkanna Sōmayāji was a great Telugu poet. But we have not come across any of his Sanskrit works, even if he wrote any. He was a contemporary of the Telugu-Chōḍa king Mānmasiddhi who ruled over Nellore in the middle of the 13th century. When Mānmasiddhi was deposed by two of his brothers, Tikkaya prevailed upon the Kākatiya Pratāpa Rudra to take up the cause of Mānmasiddhi and restore him to the throne. Our authoress seems to have been attracted by the poetry of Tikkaya. If Tikkaya was not a Sanskrit poet, we may then take that the authoress knew Telugu and praised Tikkaya's Telugu poetry.

A poet Agastya is then mentioned as the author of seventy-four Kāvya. But unfortunately none of the works of this prolific writer seems to have survived the wreck of time. We see nothing improbable in identifying the present poet with the author of the kāvya called 'Bālabhārata' which is generally read by beginners in Sanskrit throughout Southern India.

Next comes Gaṅgādhara who is extolled as a Mahākavi and a second Vyāsa and as having dramatized the 'Mahābhārata'. We have no evidence to identify him with the poet Gaṅgādhara mentioned by Bilhana as having been defeated by him in a literary dispute.

Lastly, when mentioning the poet Visvanātha the authoress prays for his long life and happiness, and also observes that she owes all her poetic attainments to the blessings of Visvanātha. This implies that Visvanātha was living when the present poem was written and that the authoress herself was a disciple of his. Further we learn from the play called 'Saugandhikāharana' that it was written by Visvanātha during the reign of Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva (1268—1323 A.D.), and that he (Visvanātha) derived all his poetic inspiration from his uncle Agastya who was himself a great poet at the time. These two poets Agastya and Visvanātha, it seems very likely, are the same as those mentioned by the authoress. Here, we have, however to admit a difference of some fifty years between the dates of the 'Saugandhikāharana,' and the 'Madhurāvijaya,' and that the poet Visvanātha, to be living at the time of

the composition of the present work, should have been an old man of more than seventy years and written his 'Saugandhikāharana' some fifty years previously when about twenty years of age. For the events dealt with in the 'Madhurā-vijaya' took place between 1370 and 1383 A.D., and consequently the work must have been composed only after that date while the 'Saugandhikāharana' must have been composed before the close of the reign of Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva in 1323 A.D. We also learn from the report already referred to that the drama called 'Kādambarikalyāna' was composed by Narasimha, brother of Visvanātha, the son of Gangādhara. Hence it is highly probable that these two persons Gangādhara and Visvanātha are the same as those mentioned by the authoress.

As Agastya, the uncle of Visvanātha, is also described as a great poet by the authoress, it is not unlikely that his poetic talents received recognition at the hands of Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva, the then great patron of Sanskrit learning. There is however nothing to suggest any relation between Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva and Agastya, a great contemporary poet. Still we venture to guess that there is some reference to the poet Agastya in the work 'Pratāpa Rudriya' which immortalises that king. The word 'Vidyānātha' indicates that it might probably be a title rather than a proper name and that the poet Agastya held the title Vidyānātha in the court of Pratāpa-Rudra-Dēva just as Bilhana held the title Vidyāpati under Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. The poet might have been known to the world by his title itself and his proper name forgotten in course of time. We think that this conjecture receives support from the following verse in the 'Pratāpa-Rudriya' which indicates that the poet's name was Agastya.

औन्नत्यं यदि नश्यते शिखरिणः क्रुध्यन्ति नीचैः कृता

गाम्भीर्यं यदि कील्यते जलधयः क्षुब्धन्ति गार्धकृताः ।

तत् त्वां वर्णयितुं विभेमि यदिवा जातोऽस्म्यगस्त्यः

स्थितस्त्वत्पाशे गुणरत्नरोहणगिरे श्रीवीररुद्रप्रभो ॥

The meaning of the verse is as follows :—If I describe thy eminence, the mountains thereby made very low will be angry with me, and if I describe the depth of thy heart, then the oceans thereby made shallow will get perturbed. Or I need not fear at all, for am I not an Agastya near you, O Lord Virarudra who are the source of the gems of virtuous qualities like the Rōhana mountain ?

So far about the poets mentioned by Gangā Dēvi.

We shall see whether the work attracted the attention of any later author in Sanskrit literature. During the subsequent periods when Sanskrit learning was gradually declining we have only a few writers on poetics who might naturally be expected to quote or criticize the work. Even these writers slavishly tread the beaten track of quoting the same examples as their predecessors did, and never venture to give original examples from Kāvya current in their times. There is however, some strong evidence to show that the present work was used for study by later generations. There is a Kāvya called 'Rāghavēndra-Vijaya' written by one Nārāyana-Kavi to celebrate the greatness of the Mādhvāchārya Śrī Rāgha-

vendra Svāmin who adorned the spiritual throne of Sumatīndra Matha in the 17th century A.D. The author of this Kāvya has adopted ideas and expressions from the 'Madhurā-Vijaya' and copied some verses from it with slight variations. Besides, in common with some of the latter day authors, he is fond of employing verbal tricks and conceits and indulges in the fun of imitating other poets. For instance, we shall quote one ślōka from the end of the Kāvya :—

“श्रियः पतिः श्रामति शसितुं जगन्निपीय यस्य क्षितिरक्षिणः कुलः ।

श्रियः कुरुणामधिपस्य पालिनीः श्रियः सदातास्त्विहमे पुरःस्थितः” ॥

In this ślōka, the first three lines are respectively the first lines of the three Mahākāvyas 'Māgha,' 'Naishadha,' and 'Kirātārjuniya.' A comparison of the first few verses in the first sarga of the two Kāvyas leaves no room for thinking that both might have followed a common source or that the similarity might be accidental.

Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary.

(VOL. VII. April 1750 to 1751.)

THE volume before us relates to a very interesting period of Anglo-French History in South India, the one which witnessed the inauguration of the complete, though all too temporary, triumph of Dupleix's diplomacy and resolute foresight over the sluggish indecision of his earlier rivals. We share the regret of the Editor Mr. Dodwell, for the large gap in the diary from 29th October 1750 to 16th April 1751, owing to which we miss Ranga Pillai's naive description of the capture of Gingee by Bussy, of the circumstances immediately preceding Nasir Jang's assassination and that of Muzaffar Jang, and of the celebrations that took place in Pondicherry in honour of the successes. We have nevertheless sufficient evidence to show how largely Dupleix's diplomacy and shrewdness were responsible for his successes rather than the valour of his troops and what great importance he attached to his political activities in comparison with his trading responsibilities. Considerable light is also thrown on the injustices which he permitted himself to commit in order to raise funds for his ambitious projects. Space forbids our going into further detail. The book itself is like its predecessors, fully worthy of perusal by every student of South Indian History as it brings us into personal touch with the workings of a master mind.

A.V.R.

The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari

[BY PROFESSOR R. D. BHANDARKAR]

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India; No. 4. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

NAGARI is eight miles north of Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State, Rajputana. Its antiquities have been examined in the past by A. C. L. Carlleyle, Assistant to Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1872, and by Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās soon after. An enumeration of the remains is found also in the List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the States of Rajputana compiled by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha, under the guidance of the late Sir Alexander Pinhey who later laid orientalists under a great debt of gratitude by his inauguration of Archæological activities in Hyderabad (Deccan). The monograph before us is the result not merely of a cursory examination and surface inspection but of scientific exploration and excavations. Professor Bhandarkar has helped us by elucidating not merely the history of Nagari (Madhyamikā) but also that of the remarkable collection of mounds "covered with brick platforms on a mortar bedding", which were being till now mistaken for Stupas but which were more probably "raised by Akbar's men for mounting battery for the protection of his camp" during his siege of Chitorgarh.

The evidence produced in this monograph in favour of the theory that Hāthi-bādā near Nagari was an old Vishnu temple of the third or fourth century B.C., and that the Mahadeva temple contains a Hindu Stupa, raise two very interesting questions of a novel character requiring further research.

A.V.R.

"Rupam."

A Journal of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian.

EDITED BY

O. C. GANGOLY, CALCUTTA.

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IT is with much pleasure we welcome into the ranks of Indian Quarterlies "Rūpam." No nation can live and perpetuate itself on bread alone. Something higher is needed; Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, Rome and Persia perished long ago, because they ignored this great truth and each in its turn bartered its soul for a mess of pottage. Hindu India survives the onset of many millennia because of its staunch spiritual devotion to its Art. This art has found its best expression in temple architecture with its concomitant statuary. Secular art, non-spiritual æsthetics proved the bane of Greece and Rome towards the end. Not so

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